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YOUNG ADULTS IN GERMANY: INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN DEALING WITH THE LEGACY OF THE HOLOCAUST

by

Bettina Volz

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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Abstract

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by
Bettina Volz

Advisers: Professor Steve Tuber and Professor Michael Moskowitz

Unlike much of the Holocaust research to date, which concentrated on the victims of the Holocaust, this study focused on young Germans - - the children and grandchildren of the German war generation. The study was based on the contention that a historical trauma such as the Holocaust would have a powerful impact upon the future generations of the perpetrator/bystander nation. The present study was an attempt to explore the complex task young Germans faced in understanding and integrating the meaning of the Holocaust into their lives.

Theoretical literature indicated that most members of the German war generation had been unable to adequately mourn and integrate the events of the war and the Holocaust. Detachment from the recent past was reflected in a collective silence, which prevented a potential intergenerational dialogue about the Holocaust and turned the Holocaust into a taboo subject.

In a semi-structured interview 27 subjects from former East and West Germany with a mean age of 23 years were asked to reflect on events that had happened in their own country about fifty years ago. The aim was to investigate how these young people were able or unable to integrate the

Holocaust into their personalities in regard to the quality of their representations of self and other, their affectivity, their defensive operations and their empathy.

The main hypothesis of this study postulated that subjects would demonstrate a drop in personality functioning when confronted with questions about the Holocaust. Although the hypotheses were not confirmed by statistically significant results, the scores nonetheless showed the predicted downward shift in the quality of representations of self and other, affectivity, defensive operations and empathy during questions about the Holocaust.

Evenly high performances in all five personality dimensions were assumed to suggest a degree of integration of the Holocaust whereas high performances in defensive operations and affect expression alone seemed to demonstrate an outwardly sophisticated and learned way of discussing the Holocaust that remained, however, internally disconnected.

While the results of the study showed trends in the predicted direction and overall findings raised important questions, the discussion of these findings needed to remain speculative since the analysis of the data did not yield demonstrably significant results. Nevertheless, different personality dimensions clustered together and became important indicators of the working-through process of the Holocaust. The personality dimensions "object relatedness", "affect tolerance" and "empathy" were sensitive to Holocaust questions and demonstrated a bigger downward shift than the personality dimensions "affect expression" and "defensive operations."

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the years of our friendship sowed the seeds for this project. I thank Herbert for his wisdom, his love and his unwavering belief in me. This dissertation is dedicated to him.

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"Perhaps mastering cannot be done with any past, but certainly not with the past of Hitler Germany. The best that can be achieved is to know precisely what it was, and to endure the knowledge, and then to wait and see what comes of knowing and enduring."

Hannah Arendt

I) Introduction:

As the Nazi regime in Germany collapsed in May of 1945, the people of Germany were given the complex task of coming to terms with the Holocaust, the loss of the war and a country in ruins. At the time it seemed easier to clean up the rubble than to confront and contemplate the deeds of the war.

The year 1945 was often called "die Stunde Null" (the Zero Hour). In the eyes of the German people it symbolized the wish to start over, a kind of rebirth. Germans felt they could begin again with a clean slate, their energies directed toward the future. It is interesting that for decades to come Germany focused on the external rebuilding, on economic security and prosperity, sending the internal struggle about the past underground and leading thereby to a collective silence about it.

Rebuilding the cities was a concrete task to regain a feeling of control, but it also became a way of switching roles: The Germans themselves felt victimized, homeless survivors of a terrible war. The victimization, however, was not associated with Hitler, but with the bombings by the Allies. These same Allies (USA, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union), who were occupying and administering Germany at the time, enjoined West Germany to become a democratic nation. This new political persona was

taken on by the West Germans within a very short time. The new democratic value system, however, had not been integrated over time as a result of a thorough contemplation and rejection of Nazi ideals; it had been superimposed from the outside.

"De-Nazification", which was initiated by the Allies at the Nuremberg trials and then handed over to the Germans, became a reflection of the unresolved recent past in West Germany. Few war criminals were given sentences in accord with the crimes they had committed. Overall, the verdicts were light and many influential figures of the Third Reich, particularly doctors, judges and industrialists, were never summoned to stand trial at all. It is therefore not surprising that as West Germany entered its "democratic" era, positions of influence and power were often occupied again by former Nazis.

The East German Republic also found in 1949 a new identity in communism. Its new political direction was similarly superimposed by an outside force - the Soviet Union. It gave the East Germans a chance to see themselves as communists and antifascists rather than former Nazis. Conflictual feelings for their own participation in the atrocities of the Hitler regime could thus be denied and projected onto their West German neighbors. In other words the external imposition of a new political order had facilitated a kind of denial in the population of East Germany. Nazi war criminals in East Germany, however, unlike their West German neighbors, were prosecuted and tried.

The educational systems in East and West Germany were an indication as well of the way each country was dealing with its Hitler past. West Germany conveyed to the post-war generation a minimal factual account of what had happened. Most teachers were unable to talk about their own

experiences during the war or help their students make an emotional connection with the material. As a rule concentration camps and other memorials of the Holocaust were not visited as part of the school experience.

East Germans, on the other hand, emphasized their heroic role during the war as antifascists and communists, and stressed that they themselves had been targets of Nazi terror and persecution. Heroes of the war were introduced to students, as young as kindergarten age, to talk about their war experiences. During 'Jugendweihe', a rite of passage in adolescence that initiated young people into the communist party, young people routinely visited concentration camps located in East Germany. With this frame of reference it is surprising and simultaneously a sign of denial similar to that in the West that monuments and memorials in East Germany rarely mentioned the Jews as victims of the Holocaust. They were dedicated foremost to the comrades who lost their lives in the struggle against fascism.

Both countries had similar difficulties addressing the issue of the Holocaust within society, literature, art and the social sciences. Two important gestures by senior West German leaders represented courageous exceptions. In 1970, Chancellor Willy Brandt fell to his knees at a Holocaust memorial in Poland, acknowledging Germany's guilt. On May 8th, 1985, in the aftermath of President Reagan's controversial visit to the Bittburg cemetery and on the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender, West German President Richard von Weizsaecker said in a memorable speech that, under the Third Reich, Germans were in a position to know of the Nazis' extermination of the Jews:

> "When the unspeakable truth of the Holocaust then became known at the end of the war, all too many of us claimed they had not known anything about it or even suspected anything. Who could remain

> unsuspecting after the burning of the synagogues, the plundering, the stigmatization with the Star of David, the deprivation of rights, the ceaseless violation of human dignity? All of us, whether guilty or not, whether old or young, must accept the past. Anyone who closes his eyes to the past, is blind to the present."

Among the writers, Gunter Grass, Heinrich Boll, Martin Walser, Alfred Andersch and Siegfried Lenz in West Germany and Bruno Apitz, Anna Seghers and Victor Klemperer in East Germany were the few authors who consistently developed themes of the recent war past. Similarly it proved difficult for social scientists to confront the Nazi time. Historians and psychoanalysts did not address the issue of the Holocaust in their scientific meetings until the eighties. It was a small group of conservative historians, among them Ernst Nolte, Andreas Hillgruber, Klaus Hildebrand and Michael Stuermer, who in the late 80s intitiated a controversial debate that came to be known as the "Historikerstreit". Their intent was to question the uniqueness of the Holocaust by comparing the Nazi atrocities with crimes other countries had committed. In particular they pointed to the brutalities that were committed under Stalin's regime as a suitable comparison. Jaeckel (1987), a Stuttgart historian, rejected their reasoning in the following way:

> The national socialist murder of the Jews was unequalled because never before has a state, with the authority of its responsible leaders, decided and announced the total killing of a certain group of people, including the old, the women, the children, the infants, and turned this decision into fact, with the use of all the possible instruments of power available to the state. (p.118)

Nonetheless, according to Knoll (1993), the assertions of the historians involved in the Historikerstreit found a substantial echo in the traditional branches of the publishing industry, which emphasized the theses of the Historikerstreit, particularly during the time when reunification of Germany was becoming a reality.

The most poignant scenes in regard to the memory of the Holocaust and the Nazi time, however, were played out within the boundaries of the German family. Parents, who themselves had been raised with an authoritarian style of child rearing, could not admit to themselves, much less to their children, that they had been wrong in following Hitler and that they regretted the persecution of the Jews and their death in the concentration camps. This dialogue was further complicated by the parents' difficulty in separating from and letting go of the ideals of the Nazi era. Outwardly, democratic or communist values had been taken on; inwardly however, the process of confronting and questioning the scope of National Socialism was never begun.

One official buzz-word of the West German post-war era was "Vergangenheitsbewaeltigung", which means coming to terms with the past. In the public and political realm of West Germany, it reflected an intention to prevent a repetition of the past, a pledge for change and a desire to regain acceptance by the rest of the world. The new democratic constitution of West Germany stipulated military noninvolvement in the military conflicts of the world and formulated a very liberal immigration law for foreigners seeking political asylum. For the individual West German the word 'Vergangenheitsbewaeltigung' came to reflect what Germans at the time most wanted: To end the chapter of the recent past by 'mastering' it and to gain a

sense of closure. It stood less for a reflection on or an examination of the Nazi time than for the urge to close the book on this segment of German history.

Friedlander (1993) summarized the German dilemma with its past in the following way:

> The Nazi past is too massive to be forgotten, and too repellent to be integrated into the "normal" narrative of memory. For the last forty years, Germans belonging to at least two generations have been caught between the impossibility of remembering and the impossibility of forgetting. (p.2)

The following study has been embarked upon in order to further examine the complexity for Germans in coming to terms with the Holocaust.

Statement of the Problem:

Most research about the Holocaust has focused on the victims of persecution and their children. This study will look at the children and grandchildren of the perpetrators and bystanders in Germany. It will explore their complex task of coping with the past of their parents and grandparents.

For the children, the process of understanding the Holocaust begins with the parents' and grandparents' ability or inability to confront the memory of the Holocaust. It is here that the meaning, the affect and the type of defense mechanism, as it relates to the Holocaust, is communicated to the next generation. It is here that an interest in the Holocaust is fostered or stifled. The larger environment of school, government, media and art, as well as the understanding that emerges from individual relationships, continues this process. As a result, either an inner dialogue with the topic and a

working-through process develops, or defenses are utilized - - sanctioned by family and society - - to turn away from it.

This study will examine how these familial and environmental influences interplay with the very personal process of grappling with a legacy such as the Holocaust. It will look at the relative ease with which some individuals are able to communicate their feelings and thoughts about this issue as opposed to the visible discomfort it evokes in others. This study proposes that the ease, as well as the discomfort, that is expressed in a dialogue about the Holocaust communicate to what degree a person has been able to integrate and understand the events of the Holocaust.

Two groups and narratives will be examined - one, which addresses the Holocaust directly, and the other, which deals with questions about each person's early life. Both groups of narratives will be examined in terms of the manifestations of the following: the subjects' defensive processes, their expression of and tolerance for affect, their level of empathy and their object relatedness. As these personality functions remain stable for both groups of narratives or vary, patterns in understanding of this complex issue will emerge.

II) LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the ways in which young Germans are able to confront or deny the emotional impact of the Holocaust on their personal lives. Differences in personality functioning will manifest themselves as a reflection of each person's style of relating to the Holocaust. These differences in personality functioning will be the focus of the study. While empirical research of this specific topic has been lacking until now, several areas of theoretical and empirical literature are pertinent to the development of the hypotheses. These areas include: (1) theoretical and research literature on authoritarian education and authoritarianism; (2) clinical and theoretical literature on the way Germans have addressed the legacy of the Holocaust after the war; (3) clinical and theoretical literature of the effects of the Holocaust on the postwar generations; (4) empirical literature on the areas of personality functioning examined in this study.

a) Authoritarian Education:

In 1845, Dr. Heinrich Hoffmann, a medical doctor and psychiatrist, wrote the classic German children's book "Der Struwwelpeter" (Tousle-headed Peter). In no uncertain terms this book conveys the authoritarian message to the child's mind. In one story, Konrad, a little boy, is warned by his mother as she goes out: "Konrad, do not suck your thumb, for if you do, the tailor will come and cut it off with his big scissors." The book shows Konrad alone, dealing with the separation from his mother by sucking his thumb. The tailor clips off the boy's thumbs, as promised, leaving a puddle of blood and a thumbless child. Twenty-five million copies of this book were sold. Reflecting its lasting popularity, it still sells 100, 000 copies per year.

The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defines authoritarian education as the process of raising a child "with the principle of authority as opposed to that of individual freedom" (p. 798). This style of child rearing, so characteristic of Germany during the last two centuries, influenced a particular personality development that was marked by obedience, idealization and submission to authority. Eckstaedt (1982) in presenting the early life of a patient characterized the authoritarian style of education in the following way:

> These educational maxims decreed, for instance, that a child must be inured to hardship at an early age, in order to develop strong powers of resistance, both physical and mental. Feelings were considered effeminate and were to be completely suppressed: one did not feel the cold; one did not succumb to a natural urge to rush to the toilet; a boy certainly did not cry or give way to fear but showed courage and strength. He had to achieve an early mastery of his motor activity so that he could reach his goals despite emotional hindrances. Sympathy and pity only hindered the hero. An aggressive attitude was seen as a virtue, and a premium was put on courage and valor. (p. 204)

Authoritarian education contributed, among many other factors, to the behavior of Germans during WWII and lingered on to affect the ways in which the Holocaust was understood and dealt with after the war. Although public opinion veered towards more democratic values after 1945, educational style is less apt to change overnight; it is internalized as part of the personality structure and therefore continues to affect future generations.

Almost forty-five years ago, T.W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D.J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford (1950), a group of social scientists in the

United States, sought to explore the etiology of authoritarianism and to identify the relationship between authoritarianism and anti-Semitism. The researchers suggest that anti-Semitism is a specific instance of a more general ethnocentric attitude which is held by individuals who have had an authoritarian upbringing. Their large-scale study, which combined the methods of social research with clinical and depth psychology, led to the publication of the now classic volume, *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950), also referred to as TAP. Although most references to the work today include some critical comments, it continues to represent the quintessential model of the authoritarian's mind. At the time the Berkeley-researchers embarked on their project, the atrocities of the Holocaust had prompted their pursuit of this research. The general concept of the authoritarian personality, however, had been in formation since the mid-thirties when Nazi power surged in Germany. The theoretical basis was developed by the original members of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, also known as the Frankfurt School, who studied the relationship between individual personality and socio-political conditions.

Erich Fromm (1936), one of the Frankfurt School's prominent members, described how the individual adapted to the authoritarian aspects of society early on within the family. In the home, authoritarianism produced what he called the sado-masochistic character structure. Fromm believed that the child's early submission to the authority of the punitive father was later generalized to other authority figures as well as to an internal authority under the name of conscience and duty. This sado-masochistic character, according to Fromm (1941), becomes simultaneously a sadist with regard to the targets of his primitive destructiveness and a masochist vis-a-vis authorities. Fromm believed that the authoritarian personality was a

byproduct of the prevailing society and that authoritarian characteristics were present to a larger or smaller degree in all members of society. His thinking led him to a critical analysis of the kind of society that would produce this personality type. Adorno and his team (1950), on the other hand, focused on the individual:

> "An adult's outlook or ideology is an aspect of her or his personality. The adult personality is in turn shaped by personality development in childhood, which to a high degree reflects the character of the family. It is recognized that the culture and institutional structure of society are important influences, but they remain contextual and rather shadowy." (p.vi)

Adorno et al. (1950) defined the structure of personality as an organization of needs and contended that opinions, attitudes and values depended on those needs. Therefore, the TAP researchers concluded that personality could be looked upon as a "determinant of ideologicial preferences" (p. 5). They felt that fascism in particular did not appeal to the rational self-interest, but to emotional needs, needs that were often quite primitive and reflected irrational wishes and fears. The researchers pointed out as significant that situational factors, such as economic and social group membership, had been studied intensively in previous research on opinion and attitude, whereas more 'inward' or individualistic factors had not received their proper attention in research.

One of the major findings of the TAP study demonstrated that individuals who showed extreme susceptibility to fascist propaganda had a great deal in common whereas individuals who were extreme in the other direction and demonstrated more democratic values, were much more

diverse. In order to detect and measure the commonalities of one group and to understand the components that make up the more democratic sample, the researchers designed the Fascism Scale or F-scale. It is a scale that measures prejudice without appearing to do so and without mentioning the name of any particular minority group. The scale consists of groups of questions, each group representing a variable, that is recognized by the researchers as a contributor to the authoritarian personality syndrome.

Examining the variable "conventionalism" Adorno et al. (1950) hypothesized that those who conformed most to the culture would be the most prejudiced. Another variable was 'authoritarian submission', which presupposed some failure in the development of an inner authority. The TAP researchers felt that authoritarian submission was one way of handling ambivalent feelings toward authority figures. Angry impulses against a punitive parent were held in check by fear of punishment. Guilt feelings about these angry impulses contributed to a reaction formation, through which the parents were idealized. This lead to undue respect, obedience and gratitude toward authority figures. Since the original hostility against ingroup authorities had to be repressed along with the authorities' selfish, domineering and unfair qualities, these same qualities were then seen as existing in the outgroup.

The third variable, "authoritarian aggression", represented the sadistic component in contrast to authoritarian submission, as Fromm stated, which represented the masochistic component. The submissive person and conventionalist, unable to express any criticism against authorities or society's regulations, according to the authors, fiercely condemned anyone who did not adhere to society's rules and values. This gave him an opportunity to express his most primitive aggressive impulses against those

who acted outside of his circle while thinking of himself as thoroughly moral. Adorno et al. (1950) traced this 'justification' of aggression to an incomplete integration of the conscience (superego) with the self and the ego:

> There is some reason to believe that a failure in superego internalization is due to weakness in the ego, to its inability to perform the necessary synthesis. Weakness in the ego is expressed in the inability to build up a consistant and enduring set of moral values within the personality; and it is this state of affairs, apparently, that makes it necessary for the individual to seek some organizing and coordinating agency outside himself.....the conscience is externalized. (p.163)

"Anti-intraception," as a fourth variable, stood for the authoritarian personality's opposition to everything that was subjective, tender-minded and in any way emotional. There was an emphasis on practicality, efficiency and diligence whereas psychological determinants of human characteristics were ignored. It was looked down upon to be in touch with one's own feelings or to show any empathy towards the feelings of others. The variable, "superstition and stereotypy," showed a tendency to hand responsibility from within the individual onto outside forces beyond one's control. A person who hoped that by submitting to the existing power they themselves could be part of that power showed signs of the variable, "power and toughness." The seventh variable "destructiveness and cynicism" represented generalized hostility and complemented the variable "projectivity," which projected unconscious emotional impulses onto others. "Sex," the last variable, indicated an exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on" (p.157) .

Discussing the prevalence of authoritarian behavior patterns among their subjects in the United States, Adorno et al. (1950) contemplated several possible ways for dealing with these dangerous characteristics of our society:

> The task of eliminating the fascist structure is comparable to that of eliminating neurosis, or delinquency, or nationalism from the world. These are products of the total organization of society and are to be changed only as that society is changed. (p. 479)

The authors pointed to early childhood as a place where the development of a healthy personality structure could be influenced, but conceded that that was easier said than done. The development of democratic values in children would presuppose parents who have internalized those values themselves and then become able to communicate them to their children. The authors concluded: "For the fascist potential to change, or even to be held in check, there must be an increase in people's capacity to see themselves and to be themselves" (p. 479). It is of note that in Germany, the publication of TAP found little resonance. Twenty-three years passed before the first translation of the book was published there.

One important characteristic of the authoritarian personality, which the TAP research described as part of the variable, "authoritarian submission," was obedience. After WWII, obedience was often cited as an excuse for the atrocities in the concentration camps when perpetrators claimed that they had "only followed orders." In 1974, Milgram, an American social scientist, conducted his classic experiment in which he examined the extent to which people would follow the orders of an authority figure when following these orders could result in the bodily harm of others. Sixty-five

percent of his subjects were willing to follow orders to a degree where extreme distress, pain and bodily harm to another person were certain.

Both research projects, TAP and Milgram, had been prompted by questions about the behavior of Germans during the Holocaust, yet both studies collected their data in the United States. Their data caused alarm about authoritarian elements in a country that had been democratic for a long time and raised questions about Germany, where authoritarian principles had dominated government and family life for two centuries. These classic projects were never duplicated in Germany, yet Lederer (1981), in her review of authoritarian education, mentioned several studies which examined the level of authoritarianism in Germany during the past sixty years. Schaffner conducted a study in 1948 that confirmed attitudes among Germans to be classically authoritarian. His data seemed to indicate that family life had not changed significantly for his subjects, who ranged in age from 19-70 years and covered a range in history from the German Empire to WWII. In his findings about Germany, Schaffner concluded that it was "authoritarian in principle, sanctioning aggression and belittling the dignity and worth of individual life" (p.105). Similarly, Horn confirmed in 1967 that authoritarianism in child-rearing was far from gone in Germany in the 1960s.

During the same time, Devereux, Bronfenbrenner and Suci (1960) conducted a study comparing child-rearing practices in Germany and in the United States. In 1970, Devereux concluded that "many signs point to a rapid transformation after the Second World War in the direction of a more democratic, equalitarian model" (p.353). To see if these trends had deepened, Lederer in 1981 surveyed 750 adolescents in the U.S. and 925 adolescents in the Federal Republic of Germany to inquire about their attitude toward authority. She compared her results with the results of Schaffner's study

from 1945 and found that authoritarianism had noticably declined in the United States and had declined even more sharply in Germany. In discussing this "substantial change in German attitudes and values" (p.118), Lederer wondered how these changes came about and how deeply rooted they were. "Is support for democracy as easily lost as gained? What role has the educational system and what role has the family played in this process?" (p.118)

The authoritarian structure changed for West Germany in 1945 and democratic values were introduced. East Germany, however, had to continue to function in an authoritarian setting in which the government demanded submission and obedience and refused freedom of choice. Yet despite the changes in government, the people in both parts of Germany had lived in families with authoritarian principles for generations. Conventionalism, submission, anti-intraception and authoritarian aggression had been internalized as part of each person's personality. These values were part of the psychological tools that were available to the citizens in both countries to come to terms with the recent war past.

b) The War Generation:

> "I have done this, says my memory. I cannot have done this, says my conscience. Finally my memory gives in."
>
> Nietszche

As Germany became divided after the war into East and West Germany, each country utilized different defensive processes in dealing with the memories of the Holocaust. Although Germany was united in 1990, I will refer to East and West Germany since the processes I am discussing started during the time the countries were divided.

Freud concluded from his observations on neurosis that people who are overwhelmed by traumatic experiences summon the aid of their defenses: They repress the scenes of pain from their consciousness. The trauma for Germany in 1945 was the experience of the war on the one hand but more acutely the loss of its idealized figure: Hitler. As the war was lost and the concentration camps were liberated, the world reminded the Germans how this idealized figure had induced them to adopt values that allowed Auschwitz to happen. Most Germans experienced feelings of shame, guilt and injured pride after the war ended. East and West Germany, however, dealt with these disturbing emotions in very different ways.

East Germany's moral dilemma was resolved by its new ruler: the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders proclaimed East Germany part of the victorious Soviets and stated that the East Germans as communists had been antifascists throughout the war. And as Anti-fascists they were victims of the

Nazis rather than culprits and perpetrators themselves. The Fascists, according to the Soviets, had been the West Germans and all the blame belonged to them. Projecting the evil of the past westward and identifying with the victims served as a defense for this part of the country.

West Germany was left with its feelings of guilt and shame. As a shield against these disturbing emotions most West Germans used defenses that resulted in a collective silence in regard to the Holocaust. In 1967, two West German psychoanalysts, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, initiated the discussion about this collective silence in West Germany with their book: *The Inability To Mourn.* The Mitscherlichs prefaced their analysis by stressing how influential the authoritarian educational philosophy was that Germany practiced for generations. They described how obedience and submission to authority as well as high idealization enabled Nazism to succeed, but also determined the way Germans were able or unable to come to terms with their Nazipast. Based on Freud (1917), they differentiated healthy mourning and melancholia. Healthy mourning is a response to loss, where the person is able to say good-bye to the lost relationship over time and becomes able again to form a new relationship. In healthy mourning the self-esteem of a person is not damaged. Melancholia, on the other hand, is a pathological and more permanent form of mourning. In this form of bereavement the loss cannot be mourned due to a mixture of unexpressed ambivalence and idealization in the relationship. The unexpressed ambivalence, as an unresolved residue of the relationship, creates a conflict for the mourner. The negative emotions are shifted from the lost love-object onto the self in order to neutralize the tension. This self-reproach creates a loss in self-esteem, which predisposes the person to depression. The negative aspects of the lost person are introjected and the positive elements continue to be idealized. No closure is possible.

The authors believed that Hitler's death and the collapse of Nazi-Germany predisposed the Germans for mass-melancholia. Hitler had become a collective ego-ideal, "someone to lean on, to transfer responsibility onto, an internal object" (p. 34). His death and devaluation by the rest of the world impoverished and devalued all Germans in a personal way. Faced with this potentially vast and longlasting injury to their self-esteem, the West Germans prevented a mass melancholia by emotionally detaching themselves from the recent past in the process the Mitscherlichs call "derealization". This caused an inner turning away from their own involvement, interest and participation in the war past as if it had never happened in their own lives. The authors felt that the silence thus was not caused by melancholic depression but rather by a silence related to a numbing of feelings. This derealization was also seen by the Mitscherlichs as the reason for the West Germans' lack of empathy towards the victims of the Holocaust as well as their consequent inability to mourn their loss.

The defensive processes, utilized by many West Germans at the time, turned the Holocaust into a taboo subject. The Mitscherlichs defined taboo as an issue one does not dare to ask questions about or an issue that does not even evoke any questions. A taboo, according to the authors, discourages critical reflection and keeps the level of knowledge and understanding low. The Mitscherlichs warned that the repetition compulsion of history could only be avoided when the historical events have evoked a shift in awareness and understanding.

Looking to the future of both East and West Germany and reflecting on what had to be done, Margarete Mitscherlich (1979) coined the term "Erinnerungsarbeit" (work of remembrance) and explained that the ability to mourn could only be developed if this particular work of remembrance was

undertaken. It entailed that the memory be relived in terms of the old forms of behavior, feelings and fantasies. Only then, over time, could one bid farewell to these memories. If this work of remembrance was undertaken, the author stated, a new era could be perceived and new thoughts be thought. She felt that it was less important to spend time thinking about Hitler in psychological as well as historical ways and more significant for the Germans to think about themselves. It was important, she stated, to find out, why Hitler had such a powerful influence on the Germans and why he was able to sway the Germans' conscience to adopt his perverse ideals.

Severing one's ties with the past, according to Margarete Mitscherlich, had yet another effect. The country lost its connection to the traditions and values of the Germany before Hitler. The cultural narrative was broken. Mitscherlich did not advocate a nostalgic involvement with pre-Hitler Germany, but felt that a confrontation with all of Germany's history was important for understanding that some of Hitler's perverse values were actually based on many highly regarded German traditions.

The work of the Mitscherlichs and their thesis about West Germany's inability to mourn the Holocaust found a large readership in that country and yet, as Alexander Mitscherlich (1980) wrote in his autobiography, it "did not lead to any visible changes in the political behavior. The repression of the past continued" (p. 239). Tilman Moser, a West German psychoanalyst and former disciple of the Mitscherlichs, in rereading their work 25 years later, felt that the lack of social, political or socio-therapeutic reaction was due to a shortcoming of the book itself. According to Moser, the Mitscherlichs had written the book in a tone of reproachful morality that resulted in a hardening of the defensive barrier rather than a change in that behavior. Moser observed that the book lacked empathy for the situation the West

Germans were facing after the war. And empathy, according to Moser, would have been the precondition for an ability to let the feelings of guilt surface. The Mitscherlichs demanded a "working through" of the Nazi past, but failed to outline what a public processing of an issue like this would have looked like. Moser posited an odd paradox, that the people implicated in the crimes of the Holocaust needed to experience empathy from others for what they themselves had endured. Only then could the perpetrators become able to develop empathy for the victims, and thus be free to break with the traditions of the past.

Dahmer (1989), another West German psychoanalyst, elaborated on the connection the Mitscherlichs had made between derealization and repetition. Declaring part of one's life "unreal" as if it had never happened, Dahmer stated, carried one big advantage: The person no longer had to be conscious of any guilt or share in the guilt. But most of all, he felt, people who chose the flight into derealization were spared the necessary political and psychological learning, and the work of self-transformation that could have emanated from a social crisis like the one Germany experienced at the end of the war. The author felt that the majority of German bystanders refused to undergo a revision in their mode of thinking. Thus, he found, a mentality had been preserved that once was the substructure of the Nazi ideology.

When derealization is used as a defense, Dahmer explained, the voice of the conscience is silenced in a lasting way. He described the difference in suffering between surviving victims of the Holocaust and German perpetrators and bystanders. The lives of surviving victims have been deeply affected by their horrific experiences in the concentration camps. Their continuing suffering has been defined as the "survivor syndrome," marked by depression, anxiety and guilt for having survived. This suffering has

profoundly influenced the survivors' families and the lives of their children. The literature indicates that perpetrators were generally not as traumatized by the memory of their crimes. On the other hand, there is less documentation in the literature about the unconscious repercussions the perpetrators might have experienced in regard to their war past.

Dahmer claimed that the student protests in the Sixties in West Germany were the first social force to work against the process of derealization. This was followed in 1979 by an incident involving West German television: An American television series, called Holocaust, about the fate of a Jewish family in Germany during the war was shown. In regard to the war years, it seemed to move its viewers in ways nothing had until then. For the first time West Germans seemed to be touched by their recent past and able to identify with the victims of the Holocaust. Both events caused some shift away from derealization. Dahmer stated that feelings of guilt can only be experienced by the Germans when the barrier of derealization has been given up and when the crimes of the collective are acknowledged as a historical reality. Nevertheless, he felt that only a small minority tried to imagine what had happened during the war and why it happened. Dahmer hoped that this minority would grow into a majority and that thereby the cycle of repetition could be broken.

The type of defenses used, both by East and West Germans after the war, relate back to the authoritarian personality structure. Adorno et al. (1950) discussed how authoritarian-bound personalities lack the ego strength to question their own value systems. The Mitscherlichs (1967) have stated that such personality types also lack the ego strength to mourn lost ideals and identities that have become questionable. Rosenkoetter (1979), a West German analyst, described how the absence of mourning leads to a split in the

superego, which is manifested in a split morality. On the one hand, Germans were integrated into their respectively communist and democratic societies; on the other hand, former loyalties were hidden - - loyalties that were still secretly connected with the Nazi ideology.

It is the ego ideal, which is separate from the superego but closely interconnected with it, that can induce the superego to release its norms and prohibitions. Rosenkoetter (1982) described its development in order to explain the shift in the value system of many people during the war and their adherence to those values afterwards. The ego ideal, the author stated, originates first from identification with the primary objects and is later shaped by parental goals and values. During latency and adolescence, according to the child analyst Peter Blos (1962), ideals of religion and ethics are added to the evolving ego ideal, until in early adulthood, an individual is able to sever his ties to the primary objects.

The figure of a leader, Rosenkoetter explained, can take the place of the ego ideal: "Such a leader can seduce the masses into obedient bondage" (p. 177). He felt that Hitler and his followers corrupted the communal ego ideal and turned away from the common cultural ideals. Prohibition of murder and violence and the recognition of justice for everyone turned under Hitler into a glorification of violence and the superiority of their Aryan race over others. After the war, Rosenkoetter speculated, the Germans woke up from intoxication to intense feelings of shame. He agreed with A. and M. Mitscherlich (1967) in concluding that "the necessary work of shame and mourning was often not accomplished. Instead most people withdrew from working through their bondage and encouraged each other in a mutual denial of their past." (p. 177) In addition, the author stressed that in the course of the pre-war, war and post-war time, Germans changed their

identities several times. Only a confrontation with the former identities, in the way the Mitscherlichs had advocated, could have helped the Germans to accomplish a reconciliation with their super egos.

Simenauer (1982), a collegue of Rosenkoetter, felt that some of the defenses utilized after the war partially originated in the Nazi time itself. He stated, for example, that although the conspiracy of silence had many elements, the taboo on telling and the denial of the past had been introduced by the Nazis themselves. Also, he observed that the perversion of ideals during the Third Reich "ultimately led to the total dissociation of emotions from memories" (p.168). Concerned with the return of the repressed, the author analyzed the types of defenses used after the war to see their relationship to the danger of repetition. He discussed how repression, denial and even reversal into the opposite played a large role in the defense mechanisms of the Nazi mentality. Using reversal into the opposite as a defense against their guilt feelings, Germans attempted to balance their own misdeeds, or their tolerance for the crimes of others, against the hostile actions of the enemies. Simenauer believed that this particular defense mechanism was indicative of primary process thinking: "Through utter disregard of logic they used exclusively wartime enemy actions as justification for all actions of Nazis and sympathizers" (p. 170). He felt, however, that listing this group of defenses was "too simple an explanation of the defense, whose complex nature can be seen especially in its relationship to the process of mourning" (p.168). He explained, referring to Freud and the Mitscherlichs, how the pain involved in mourning gives rise to a resistance against it.

This resistance was reflected in a myth that developed in the daily life of post-war West Germany. The first manifestation of this myth was: "We did not know." In reality, however, it was hard to miss that Jews were required to

wear the star of David, that normal rights of citizens were taken away from German Jews and that known acquaintances whether from the work place, the school or the adjacent apartment, were seized and deported, never to be seen again. The second manifestation of the myth was: " We did not want this to happen." Yet it was a given fact that the majority of the population backed the Nazi ideology.

Another aspect of the defense mechanisms, according to Simenauer, was the fact, that "the deeper awareness of guilt was not a product of insight but was insisted on by others, the hated victorious Allies" (p. 172). He felt that in connection with the other defense mechanisms, "this circumstance strengthened still further the resistance against any insight" (p. 172). He postulated that it was important to consider how a majority of the people internalized the ideals of the Nazi time and how it continued to affect their beliefs and attitudes now. He was very pessimistic in stating that these attitudes have "remained largely unalterable, mainly because the motives for their genesis have remained untouched in the unconscious" (p.171).

Freud (1932) pondered these questions of possible change a year before Hitler seized power in Germany and would agree with Simenauer's pessimistic view of Germany today: "The past, the tradition of the race and of the people, lives on in the ideologies of the superego and yields only slowly to the influence of the present and to new changes, and as long as it operates through the superego it plays a powerful part in human life...." (p. 67).

c) The Post-War Generations:

The previous section focused on the specific defenses utilized by Germans who had experienced the war as adults. It is the purpose of this section to consider how these defenses, used by the war generation, have affected their children and grandchildren. These younger generations faced what Stierlin (1981) called a "complex integrative task" (p. 379). As they explored their forefathers' pasts in order to find the historical truth, they were also searching for a way to integrate its meaning into their personal lives. The difficulties that the German post-war generations were facing in this process have been little documented. In their book *Generations of the Holocaust* Jacoby and Bergmann (1982) dealt primarily with the effects of the Holocaust on the children of surviving victims. One chapter, however, was devoted to the effects of the Holocaust on Germany's second postwar generation. In her introduction, Judith Kestenberg described how the American Group for the Psychoanalytic Study of the Effect of the Holocaust on the Second Generation (a group she had founded in 1974) "knew that the study of children of Nazis was of equal importance to that of problems encountered by children of survivors" (p. 161). The literature as well as the research, however, have remained sparse to this day.

Children of Nazis, born between 1935 and 1945, have been written about most frequently in the psychoanalytic literature but also in popular literature. Two formal research projects as well as several case studies from the work of a number of German psychoanalysts have shed light on the complex nature of this particular type of intergenerational relationship. The effects of the Holocaust on children born after 1945, who are descendents of bystanders as well as perpetrators, are less formally researched.

The intergenerational dialogue:

Both countries, East and West Germany, interrupted their cultural narrative after the war. East Germany provided its young with a dialogue about the war, but the dialogue projected the crimes of the Holocaust onto their fellow countrymen in the West. No historical truth was established that dealt with their own involvement and possible inner conflicts about the past. In 1990, the unification of Germany offered the former East Germans another chance to view their past with a new and more self-critical perspective.

After the war, most West German families were characterized by a silence in regard to the war years: The parents talked little about their pasts and the children were reluctant to ask questions as well. Commenting on the perilous ambience, characteristic of many families of that time, Schneider (1981) called this the "glass-house" atmosphere.

Stierlin (1981), a German psychoanalyst and family therapist, stressed how important it was, however, for young people to explore their pasts, to become able to ask: What are my roots? What shaped my present identity? Which conflicts - intrapsychic, interpersonal as well as social - am I heir to? In order to find answers to these questions, he felt, a dialogue between the generations was necessary. Without it, the author stated, the younger generation was lacking a historical continuum of meaning within the cultural and familial community: "Children need parents to embed them in a tradition of meaningful missions and obligations. They need parents to exemplify basic values of trust, justice and fairness. They need parents who can serve as sources and models of strength and integrity" (p. 384). Most of the West German post-war parents, he stated, were unable to provide their children with that type of meaningful exchange about their pasts. He pointed

out that the dialogue, should it take place, would not be able to fulfill the needs inherent in the identification process but could show the children important qualities in the parents that related directly to values of fairness, trust and justice. Furthermore, the exchange would give members of the younger generation a chance to put themselves into the position their parents were in during the war and develop empathy for their difficulties and dilemmas. The dialogue would represent a bridge between the generations and at the same time would form the foundation for the young people to differentiate themselves from their parents in what Stierlin called "a spirit of reconciliation" (p. 385).

Stierlin cited one example, in which an adult son of a former Nazi asked his father, during a family session, why he had joined the Nazi party several years before the war. The father initially reacted in a defensive way, but also sensed his son's true interest. He was able to talk about his errors, his failure to see Nazism clearly and to express his shame about it all. By owning up to his past, the father gained rather than lost respect in his son's eyes. By helping his father, the son developed some sense of self-esteem as well as empathic insight into his father's life. The son's persistent questioning in turn helped the father to come to terms with his past.

Stierlin differentiated two perspectives used in addressing the past. In one perspective, the focus was on larger events that seem beyond personal control. The other perspective emphasized "the individuals' and families' active part in the past, the stand they took, the contributions they made, the responsibilities they accepted" (p. 381). During the first decades after the war, Stierlin observed that most families he worked with limited their intergenerational dialogue to the first perspective. Parents who saw themselves as victims of the war communicated that element of history to

their children. He further concluded that most of the young people he met in his analytic work had "learned to live with their parents' Nazi past or perhaps more correctly, have learned to keep it buried" (p. 390). Pessimistic about these youngsters' future, Stierlin stated that without an ongoing dialogue about the political past of their parents and grandparents, the quest for meaning would be at risk. It would be very difficult for them, he felt, to find a meaningful continuity that linked past, present and future generations together. It is the relationship with one's parents - - and more specifically the resolving of questions about their moral integrity - - that constitutes an essential part of one's autobiography, as Rosenkoetter and Dahmer (1983) have concluded.

Miller (1983), a Swiss psychoanalyst, felt that the feelings of guilt and shame in the German parent generation had shut down the intergenerational dialogue. According to her, a generation burdened by guilt would burden the next generation with the same. In agreement with the Mitscherlichs (1967), she stated that only the act of mourning by the parents could set their children free: "Mourning is the opposite of feeling guilt; it is an expression of pain that things happened as they did and that there is no way to change the past" (p. 250). She poignantly stressed the importance of this moment between generations when the shame and sorrow is communicated to the younger generation and mourning can begin for both the young and the old.

Shabad (1993), who integrated the concepts of incomplete mourning and repetition compulsion, would call this communication of shame and sorrow an essential part of the giving and receiving that is necessary between the generations. According to him, this communication fuels the tension in character development of a young person between the compulsion to repeat and the urge toward growth. If this interchange breaks down in relation to a

traumatic theme, in this case the shameful past of the Holocaust, the developing person may become fixated around that traumatic theme. In the case of the post-war generation, the young person can either mourn the parents' involvement with the Nazi time or, using a less conflictual strategy, can identify with the parent as the aggressor of the traumatic theme. Shabad concluded:

> To buy one's way into the security of repetition, one must repress the wishes, truths, ideals, and possibilities that are at the heart of one's psychic growth. Yet it is precisely these forgotten wishes and inner truths that would enable one to transcend the intergenerational circle of reenacting one's traumatic themes and to generate a better life for one's children. (p. 62)

It is very difficult to transcend the intergenerational repetition of one's traumatic themes in the family. In her review of this literature, Schwartz (1985) introduced the concept of intergenerational loyalty as developed by Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973). To refrain from asking questions about the past had been one way for the post-war generations in West Germany to maintain an "invisible loyalty" towards their parents. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark considered commitment, devotion and loyalty to be the most important determinants of family relationships. Any loyal member of a family has internalized his or her own family's system of fairness and obligations. Not to comply with these expectations evokes guilt feelings, and guilt feelings trigger behaviors that serve to maintain the homeostasis of the family loyalty system. This "invisible fabric of loyalty" (p. 37) can be maintained by certain myths shared throughout the generations. Schwartz (1985) felt that an important example of such a myth was historic anti-

Semitism, practiced by many generations of Germans, which led to the "justification" of Nazi genocide. The lack of intergenerational dialogue after the war resulted in gaps in the childrens' knowledge about their parents' and grandparents' war experiences, gaps in the knowledge about historical developments and an overall lack of a narrative tradition.

Children of Nazis and their identification processes:

Rosenkoetter (1982) drew his conclusions about the children of perpetrators from his analytic work in West Germany over a period of two decades. The patients he described were born between 1933 and 1939 and were all children of Nazis. He was concerned with the identification processes of these children since they were dealing with deficient ego ideals in their parents. He shared the child analyst Peter Blos' opinion that intact and not overtly contradictory parental ego ideals were a prerequisite for a child's own ego ideal formation. He speculated, "We must expect to find, in many present-day young adults in Germany, traumatic sequelae due to the deficiency of parental ego ideals that were deficient because of regression, bondage, and denial" (p. 177). He felt that the impossibility of adopting an intact parental ego ideal may result "in certain structural defects, sometimes combined with other neurotic symptoms" (p. 182) for this young generation.

The patients he described had been children during the Hitler time and were raised under Hitler's motto: "Hard as steel, tough as leather, quick as greyhounds." Two patients, in particular, demonstrated what Shabad (1993) had called an "identification with the aggressor of the traumatic theme." Both had been raised in households closely identified with the Nazi ideology and suffered now as adults from obsessive-compulsive symptoms. One patient

feared that he had pushed a woman from the platform before an oncoming train. The other patient had an obsessive fear that he might kill his three year-old son. They had identified with their parents in a pathological way by taking on the murderous and cold qualities of their parents' Nazi ideology. They were caught in the duality of fearing to be murdered and of becoming murderers themselves. In the course of their development they had not been able to adopt adequate controls against their own aggressive impulses.

Refusing to take on the parental values is one important step in breaking the repetition, but some form of dialogue dealing with the change is also necessary. Rosenkoetter reported on one case in which the patient had withdrawn from his father and his Nazi values, and had developed his own liberal set of beliefs. The father died without there ever having been an argument or discussion between the two men about their differences. The son, although grounded in his own values, had difficulty arguing for his point of view whenever he was challenged in his own life. Rosenkoetter felt that the patient had withdrawn from his father's ideals but had avoided an argument with him, even in his own thoughts. This was the reason, Rosenkoetter felt, why he was easily disoriented on questions of right and wrong and could not defend his stands.

Rosenkoetter concluded that the fathers of these patients had lost their own senses of personal integrity by submitting to Nazi ideals which were later proven criminal. Ashamed of their pasts, they could not communicate to their children the self-esteem that comes from intrapsychic harmony between the ego, superego, and ego ideal. The mothers of that time, he added, proved "even more pathogenic" (p. 181) to their offspring than the fathers. Narcissistic and authoritarian, they adhered "to their philosophy of strength and rigor combined with contempt for the weak and dependent" (p. 181).

Their refusal to empathize with the victims of the Holocaust matched their inability to empathize with their own children.

Simenauer (1982) and Stierlin (1981) described Germany as a fatherless society during the war as well as for some time afterwards. Fathers had been enlisted as soldiers during the war and often were separated from their families for years. Stierlin quoted a patient's description of the "homecoming" of his father after the war : "One day - - I was then ten years old - - a destitute, unshaven, haggard, and ugly man stood before our door. I was uncomfortable and frightened and called my mother. My mother came and told me, 'this is your father' "(p. 382). Simenauer (1978) felt that sons had a difficult time identifying with fathers who returned to their families defeated and powerless. These fathers lacked ideals the children could easily adopt. As the intellectual development of these children progressed, he added, it must have become clear to them that their parents were not able to provide them with the information they were craving. The young adults experienced the evasiveness of their parents as a severe deprivation. It was at this time that the student revolt of the sixties took place. Simenauer felt that the frustrations the sons experienced in their identification processes with their fathers triggered the protests.

In turning against their fathers, these students embraced values of the political left and identified with an anti-authoritarian philosophy. What Simenauer found surprising, however, were the social developments in West Germany after the student protests of the Sixties. Friendly feelings toward Jews and Jewish affairs - - and this was particularly true for the media - - turned into critical attitudes toward Israel. Wondering what had happened during the student protests, Simenauer (1982) concluded that the sons, although they had turned against their fathers, had adopted their fathers' old

prejudices in a new disguise. The sons had severed those identifications with their fathers that were localized in the ego, as was reflected in their different political values. On the other hand, the sons' superegos were less malleable: Original ego ideal formations, which are closely connected to the superego, were never altered. Only by understanding this difference in the localization of the identificatory processes, he felt, could the paradox in the behavior of the student generation of the Sixties be comprehended. Friedlander (1993), from a historical perspective, focused on the use of the word 'fascism' during the sixties revolt. Most students regarded the Bundesrepublik (West Germany) as a perpetuation of the social structures that made Nazism possible. Therefore much of political life was labelled as fascism. By overgeneralizing the concept of fascism, the author contended, the students lost sight of fundamental distinctions between past and present. When these students later shifted their outrage from their parents' activities during the war to America's policies in Vietnam or to Israel's policies towards the Palestinians, most of the rebels became "as effectively immunized against any confrontation with Nazism as had the smug old bourgeois Philistines, whom they so vehemently attacked" (p. 4).

Hardtmann (1982), a West German psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, treated five children of Nazis. Her patients saw themselves as the "Jews" of their parents' generation. They perceived themselves as the persecuted and the hunted of their families. Although born and raised after the war, these patients had shown an interest in the subject of National Socialism since their early adolescence. Hartmann stated, "When they questioned their parents about their Nazi past, the children were met by a silence that could be felt even when parents gave answers" (p. 230). The author described all five patients as conscious antifascists. Yet, in their analyses, when they dreamed

about uniforms and the war time, they responded much like their parents. They refused to look at these dreams and treated them as "foreign bodies" rather than as their own thoughts. Interpretations by their analyst were rejected.

Bar-On (1991), an Israeli psychologist, interviewed 31 Germans born between 1923 and 1944, 15 of whom were children of perpetrators. His intent was to study the difficulties individuals incurred when trying to deal with atrocities their predecessors had committed. He felt that genuine empathy for the victims could be the psychological mechanism that would prevent similar crimes in the future. He stated, however, that empathy required a personal as well as a societal working through of the Holocaust. This, he added, had not taken place in Germany during the first 40 years after the war. He found that the majority of descendants of Nazis in West Germany had used the moral argument "we suffered too." This tactic helped them to avoid looking at their parents' direct or indirect involvement in the Holocaust. Religious working through is based on guilt and expiation. Psychological working through, Bar-On differentiated, "is aimed at reaching beyond the guilt and shame into a deeper human understanding of the 'relevant other,' specifically the victims of atrocities as well as those who committed them" (p. 79). Bar-On (1990) further identified a "working through" process that could help the young generation deal with the reality of their forefathers' atrocities. First, he felt, they should know the facts about the Holocaust and understand their meaning, and second, they should bear the conflicting emotions that are evoked by knowing. Thirdly, they should integrate all this into their own "moral self."

In his research, Bar-On tried to operationalize the difference between the argument "we suffered too" and real empathy for the suffering of the

victims of Nazism. He also wanted to be able to identify a "working-through-stage" his subjects had reached in regard to the Holocaust. His data analysis showed how difficult it had been for Nazi children to relate to the experiences of the victims even when - - as in this research project - - these experiences were discussed 40 years after the fact. As Bar-On analyzed his interviews, he searched for verbal expression of empathy for the victims of Nazism. He differentiated between direct and indirect descriptions. Only 45% of the descriptions were direct and out of these the majority were remote and dealt with events that had happened to the subjects and their families. "Only in the very few specific and proximate descriptions did subjects relate to the events that were inflicted by the Nazis on their victims" (p. 78). In regard to the 'working-through-stage' he found that the degree to which a subject had been able to work through his or her parents' role during the Third Reich corresponded with the ability to relate to the suffering of the victims.

The following is a discussion of research that includes both children of Nazis as well as children of bystanders. Schwartz (1985) interviewed 13 Germans, who had moved to the United States sometime after the war. They were born between 1935 and 1945 and ranged in age from 40 to 50. She explored the intergenerational patterns of this group of post war Germans in order to understand how they had dealt with the issue of having parents who had experienced the Nazi time. All subjects reported that silence about Nazism predominated in their families. None of the 13 subjects had learned about the Holocaust from their parents. Books, radio programs and films had provided them with the information. All but two had learned practically nothing about Nazism in school. Of the 13 subjects interviewed, six admitted to feelings of shame or guilt, whereas seven alleged having no such feelings. It is noteworthy that all subjects who admitted to feeling guilt or shame about

the past also stated that they were closer to a sibling than to either of their parents. Overall, the subjects declared respect and admiration towards their parents regardless of their parents' pasts during the war.

At the congress of German-speaking analysts in Bamberg, in 1980, Gisela Leyting, according to Kestenberg (1982), gave a "courageous and emotional account" (p. 161) of her research. She had interviewed 16 fellow German and Swiss analysts, who were born between 1935 and 1947, about their childhood experiences during the war. She found that they had been forced to behave like adults even when they were still young children. Due to the stressors of the war time, i.e. many fatherless families, these children were parentified and, according to Schwartz (1985) who reported on Leyting's research, knew that their needs and demands were excessive for their mothers. Schwartz stated, "In order not to risk total object loss, these children refrained from making any demands, and thus were no longer able to feel their own needs" (p. 21). As adults, according to Leyting, these individuals were ashamed of any childish needs within themselves and had difficulty accepting these emotions.

Anna Khan (1989) addressed the third generation in her research. Gabriele von Arnim (1989) described Anna Khan's project in her book *Das Grosse Schweigen* (The Big Silence) in the following way: Khan compiled a list of words and asked her subjects, Jewish as well as non-Jewish young Germans, to give their associations to those words. The words included wagon, boot, ramp, crystal, gas, etc. Most non-Jewish subjects associated cattle transports with the word wagon, boots with cowboys, ramps with train stations, crystal with glass and gas with cooking. Most Jewish subjects, on the other hand, associated wagons with deportations, boots with the SS, ramps with Auschwitz, crystal with Kristallnacht and gas with gassing. Despite the

distinctive gap that this research revealed between Jewish and non-Jewish Germans, several psychologists, among them Kestenberg (1982) and Eckstaedt (1982), looked at the commonalities as well as the differences between children of survivors and children of perpetrators/bystanders. Kestenberg described how the silence was a characteristic of both survivors' and persecutors' families. She felt that the children of both groups had a mission to "rehabilitate their parents and to undo the past" (p. 165). However, she believed that the dynamics of their missions were quite different. Children of survivors, as they were living in the past as well as the present, needed to integrate both and free themselves of the image of the persecutor. Children of Nazis, she felt, "needed to come to grips with their own conscience, with the guilt of moral self-degradation imposed upon them by their Nazi parents" (p. 164). Like Kestenberg, Eckstaedt (1982) believed that the biggest common denominator between the two groups was the fact that both children of persecutors and the persecuted felt responsible for correcting the catastrophic events in the histories of their parents. The author felt that this enormous task could be conceived of as a cumulative trauma for both groups of children.

The literature has documented how difficult it was for the second generation of Germans to engage in a working through process about the Holocaust with their parents, teachers and society at large. Several social scientists have speculated on how these difficulties might continue or change for the third generation. Bohleber (1993) pessimistically stated that the work with patients in West Germany has familiarized analysts with the durability and transmission of Nazi-introjects over several generations. Beland (1988) also suggested that the latency period concerning the Holocaust in Germany would last two or three generations. Richter (1992), Mitscherlich (1992) and

Fogelman (1989) noticed a change in the third generation. The grandchildren of the war, according to these authors, were more likely to ask questions and to pursue the truth about the past. In 1990 Richter (1992) had conducted a study involving 1450 students at the University of Giessen in West Germany. He asked them if they considered it to be an important or a superfluous task to learn about the Nazi past of their country. The answers were given anonymously. 86% felt that dealing with the Nazi past was important, for some of the students even very important. Just prior to the time the study was conducted, several student groups at the university had made it their task to examine the Nazi history of their own university. Since many of the students had just been immersed in material relating to the Nazi time, the results of Richter's study could not be representative of young German students in general, but, according to Richter, the results indicated an increased interest by the younger generation in their country's Nazi past. Richter observed several common characteristics among the students who stressed the importance of remembering the Nazi past. These students were more open to perceive social injustice in their own county, were more sensitive in their own social interactions in terms of trust and the need to care for others and they also demonstrated fewer negative social prejudices.

Sichrowski (1988), a journalist, interviewed children of Nazis for a book called *Born Guilty*. One of his subjects, Susanne, who was part of the second generation, differentiated her own generation from her son's: "Compared to today's youth we were stupid and naive and uninterested, or possibly the subject was still too loaded then" (p.78).

d) Empirical literature on the areas of personality functioning examined in this study:

The Holocaust is ever-present as a traumatic theme in German history, even though collective defensive operations have aided in repressing the memory and in establishing a collective taboo. This study examined the effect of time as it functioned to ease the need for denial and open channels of communication or, alternatively, to aid in forgetting.

The young people in this study represent the third generation. Their grandparents experienced the war as adults and their parents were children at the time of the war or were born shortly afterwards. These subjects, ranging in age from nineteen to thirty-four years, were asked to reflect on events that happened in their own country about fifty years ago. The current study explored how the Holocaust has had an influence on these young people's personalities, through the way in which its memory has been communicated to the younger generations.

In a semi-structured interview, the subjects were asked about memories of their own early lives, as well as memories of the Holocaust as conveyed to them by parents, grandparents, teachers, etc. The interview was used to gain information in regard to the subjects' representations of self and other, affectivity, empathy and defensive operations. In addition, a modified version of the F-scale (Fascism-Scale by Adorno et al.) was completed by the subjects in the form of a questionnaire. This yielded a level of authoritarianism as an additional measure.

This section will present a review of the literature that relates to 1a) object representations and the experience of self and other; 1b) the history of early memories and their use as a projective technique; 1c) the Krohn scale as

a measure of object relatedness; 2a) development of affect, empathy and defensive operations; 2b) Epigenetic Assessment Rating System as a measure of affectivity, empathy and defensive operations; 3a) the literature of the Fascism-scale, as a measure of authoritarianism.

1a) Object representations and the experience of self and other

Since the thirties, the notion of object relations has gained importance within the psychoanalytic literature and has fueled the tendency to view the individual in the orbit of interpersonal relations rather than in isolation. The concept of object relations originated in Freud's drive theory. Freud (1905) originally defined 'object' as a person towards whom the drive is directed. This person was seen either as a facilitator of drive discharge or as someone who inhibited the discharge. The school of object relations, in differentiation to the Freudian model, turned its focus from the gratification that was provided by the object to the relationship with the object itself. Some theorists within object relations remained faithful to Freud and adhered to drive theory, such as Jacobsen (1964) and Kernberg (1976), whereas others divorced themselves from drive theory completely, like Fairbairn (1952) and Guntrip (1969).

Object relations theory posited that people interact not only with an external, real other but also with an internal other. According to Greenberg and Mitchell (1983) this internal image of another person represents the residue a particular relationship has left within the mind: "In some way crucial exchanges with others leave their mark; they are internalized and so come to shape subsequent attitudes, reactions, perceptions and so on" (p. 11). These mental representations of others as well as the self mature gradually.

Hatcher and Krohn (1980) point to the first five years of life, when the child develops a set of internal structures that represent the child's early experience of meaningful others: "These structures filter, select, and organize the experience of other people and the actions, thoughts and feelings of the self. Thus, an individual's experience of others will only be as differentiated or varied as are the internal representations with which he can match them up" (p. 299-300).

During development, representations begin as global and diffuse and become more and more clear, differentiated, integrated and accurate (Blatt and Lerner, 1983). Kernberg (1966) distinguished three different stages in the development of representation. He felt that levels of representation involve a growing capability to integrate affect with an image of the self, an image of the other, and an image of the self in interaction with the other. In his research Mayman (1967) came to consider these object representations to be important dimensions of everyone's personality: "There is a reason to believe that a person's fund of internalized images of others, that is, of human 'object representations,' and the feelings tied up in these images, bear the imprint of his formative interpersonal history, and reveal something of his ingrained relationship predispositions" (p. 18). Krohn and Mayman (1974) hypothesized further that the level of object representation is a salient, internally consistent and enduring dimension of the ego and should, therefore emerge across a diverse set of the ego's productions.

1b) The history of early memories and their use as a projective technique

According to Bruhn (1985) early memories have been debated in the scientific community for almost 100 years. Although their importance as a

clinical tool has been long understood, until recently no single interpretive approach had been found to establish early memories as a valid projective tool. Freud (1894, 1896, 1899, also letters to Fliess) became interested in childhood memories as he analyzed the recollections of his adult patients. He wondered why in childhood memories important information seemd to be repressed whereas indifferent material was retained in all its clarity, leaving very little trace of the original memory. He coined the term "screen memory" and defined it as one "which owes its value as a memory not to its own subject matter but to the relation existing between that subject-matter and some other, suppressed psychical material" (p. 247). Ruth Monroe (Mayman and Faris, 1960) credits Alfred Adler with the first systematic use of early memories as a diagnostic procedure. Adler recommended that early memories should be analyzed for their thematic content, much as the stories of the Thematic Apperception Test are used now.

Bruhn (1985) felt that early memories failed to achieve general acceptance as a projective tool due to a historical event: the publication of Rorschach's classic book 'Psychodiagnostics' in 1921. Other interpretive literature on the Rorschach followed whereas no comparable book was ever published about the interpretations of early memories. Bruhn (1985) himself devised an interpretative approach to early memories, which he called the 'cognitive perceptual method.' This approach used "a perception-memory-perception feedback loop in which the invidual's perception of the world is held to be constant" (p. 589) unless the person is experiencing something that has sufficient psychological impact to call the individual's perception of the world into question.

Mayman (1968) , like Freud, was interested in the tacit meanings of early memories. He felt that early memories did not convey factual

representations of a person's life but were largely "retrospective inventions." They revealed psychological truths about a person rather than objective ones. As such Mayman considered early memories to be a reflection of people's enduring views of themselves and of their expectations of others. These representations of self and other, according to Mayman, appeared in the narratives of early memories as interpersonal themes. These interpersonal themes, according to Mayman, reflected adaptive and defensive choices of the ego as they repetitively intruded upon the structure and content of the early memories. These themes also communicated paradigms of relating that were often repeated in each new relationship with another person.

Mayman (1967) and Mayman and Ryan (1972) developed a systematized method to elicit early memories: The Early Memory Test, a semi-structured projective interview. Their original measure inquired about nine memories: the earliest memory and the next earliest memory; followed by the earliest memory of the mother and the next earliest memory of the mother; the earliest memory of the father and the next earliest memory of the father; and the happiest, the unhappiest and the most frequently told memory. For each memory the subjects were asked how they saw themselves as well as others in the memory and what they were feeling. The present study will use a condensed version of the Early Memory Test and ask for the earliest memory and the unhappiest memory.

In addition to the Early Memory Test, Mayman and Ryan also developed a scale to assess early memories. In their narratives of early memories Mayman and Ryan distinguished oral themes, anal themes, phallic themes, oedipal themes and latency themes, following Freud's theory of psychosexual development. The scale was to measure individual differences in the quality of the inner object world. Mayman and Krohn (1874) drew

upon Mayman and Ryan's scale when they developed their object representation scale for dreams.

b) The Krohn Object Representation Scale for Dreams:

The Object Representation Scale for Dreams (ORSD) is an ordinal scale that measures increasing levels of interpersonal relatedness. It assesses an individual's sense of others as primitive, malevolent and one-dimensional at one end of the scale or as differentiated, complex and multi-dimensional at the other. The ORSD is based on object relations theory and represents a synthesis of Mayman and Ryan's previous classification system for early memories. Kernberg (1966), in particular, conceptualized the developmental stages of internalization in ways that were analogous to those that Mayman and Krohn intended to measure with their scale. According to this theory of internalization, the most primitive level of internalization is reflected in a self- and object relatedness that is either highly idealized or empty and persecutory. More advanced levels of internalization, in turn, show a more subtle understanding of relationships and a self-image that is more consistently differentiated from the object (Mayman and Krohn, 1974).

The ORSD is made up of eight different levels of object relatedness ranging from the least to the most interpersonally related. The descriptions of each level are as follows: (1) The person's world seems lifeless, vacant, alien and without people. The world is experienced as unpredictable and bizarre. (2) The subject's world includes people but they are not experienced as lively, human or considerate. Others are seen as insubstantial and are prone to seem malevolent, violent, cold and mechanical. (3) People are experienced as fluid, interchangeable and insubstantial but unlike in second level, they are not as

malevolent. The person cannot express what others mean to him, because he has such an undifferentiated view of what others want, feel or do. Representations of self and other lack cohesion and stability; and boundaries are poor. (4) People are seen in regard to the needs they can gratify in the individual or in terms of the needs the individual can gratify in others. Subject is only marginally aware of the qualities other people have outside of their need-gratifying function. (5) The subject's world is populated by others who are not immensely distorted by poorly integrated affects but fail to have real identities. People are seen as stereotyped, shadowy, and interchangeable. They lack uniqueness and real depth. The subject is not able to read others motivations. (6) the subject has a much richer experience of others and is more tuned in to their needs, motivations and differences. Yet the person does not easily, whether for defensive or characterological reasons, try to understand the inner experience of others. Although desire for contact with people is present, safe distance from others is kept, avoiding potentially conflictual involvements in particular. (7) People are experienced with sensitivity and are predominant in the person's life. The subject is aware of subtle differences between people and seeks connections with others, even though conflicts might lead him to experience them in childish, transference-dominated ways. (8) The subject has a good sense of himself and others. Beside mutuality there is a well-developed understanding of others' thoughts, feelings and conflicts. Behavior and personal characteristics of others are assessed realistically, with an openness for reinterpretation.

Although the scale was originally designed to be used with dreams, Mayman and Krohn (1974) realized during its development that it could be applied to Rorschach and Early Memory productions as well. The scale, according to Mayman and Krohn, is to be used by intuitive, trained clinicians

and requires an empathic response by the clinician-rater. Mayman concedes that this purely clinical style of data-analysis can present difficulties in regard to the inter-rater reliability of the scale. In the case of the ORSD, however, the inter-rater reliability prooved to be high in all three categories of application (Dreams, Rorschach and Early Memories). Mayman's percentage of exact agreement, when applied to early memories, was 67%; percentage of agreement within one scale point was 74%.

2a) The development of affect, defensive operations and empathy

Affect:

Psychoanalysis has always been aware of the importance of affect, particularly in the clinical setting; yet it has been unable to define and depict the nature of that concept satisfactorily on the level of metapsychology (Basch, 1976). Nevertheless, in recent years, experimental and developmental research has contributed significantly to a more comprehensive psychoanalytic theory of affect (Stern, 1985; Gaensbauer, 1982).

In his classic review of the psychoanalytic theory of affect, Rapaport (1953) distinguished three phases. In the initial phase, the dynamic point of view, Freud (1893) equated affect with the quantity of psychic (drive) energy, whose increase created unpleasure and caused withdrawal and whose discharge was experienced as pleasurable. Freud (1893) considered that in situations of unbearable affect, repression took place, while the memory continued to retain the affect. In patients suffering from hysteria, he felt that "the incompletely abreacted psychical trauma" (p.37) would then find expression in the onset of bodily symptoms.

During the second phase, the economic point of view, Freud (1900) considered affects to be motor and secretory (discharge) processes which were controlled from the unconscious. In this view affects were released by, and were indicators of, unconscious wishes. Affects were also seen as drive-representations and considered to function as safety-valves for drive-cathexes when discharge of these drive-cathexes by drive-action met opposition (Rapaport, 1953). In this conceptualization of affect the id was at the center of interest whereas in the third phase, the ego was the focus. In the third phase, affects were considered to be ego-functions, and as such not mere safety-valves but signals by the ego. Fenichel (1941) illustrated this development as follows:

> Apparently the ego's increasing strength enables it somehow to get the upper hand of the affects at the moment when they arise. The ego is no longer overwhelmed by something alien to it, but it senses when this alien something begins to develop and simultaneously upon this recognition it re-establishes its mastery, binding the affects, using them for its purposes, 'taming' them as it were (p. 49-50).

In "Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety" (1926), Freud amended his previous thinking and affirmed that anxiety originated in the ego, not in the id, and that anxiety was a signal of imminent danger rather than a transformation of the libido (Basch, 1976).

Affective life begins at birth. Wilson and Malatesta (1985) and Basch (1976) conceptualized affective behavior as a system of communication, which exists prior to and independent of verbal language. In their views the affects of infants constituted an early form of mentating and understanding the social surroundings provided by caregivers. Affects are externally perceived as facial expressions and body movements, and internally present as organic sensations. According to Krystal (1978) the affective responses of

infants have two fundamental patterns. They either display contentment and tranquillity or distress. These two states stand for affect precursors which later develop into either pleasurable or painful affects.

During early development the caregiver attunes herself to the infant through a mutuality of signals and clues and thereby helps to expand affect formation as well as communicational abilities in the infant. In the realm of this first object relationship the infant experiences a repetition of emotional experiences, within which the caregiver is aiming to maintain what Stern (1985) called the "dance of attunement." Subtle cues and signals exchanged back and forth between caregiver and infant provide the caregiver with information about how best to care for the infant. Stern considered it preferable to organize the attunement around levels of optimal arousal. Too high or too low a level of arousal in the infant can cause the caregiver to intervene and seek to reestablish an optimal level of arousal. In this way the mother functions as a stimulus barrier. When the tension level threatens to be overwhelming for the infant, the mother provides comfort and soothing. Over time the child internalizes the mother's regulatory function and through self-regulation can tolerate various affective states (Krystal, 1988).

Tolerance for a particular affect, according to Wilson (1985), is developed through more and more intensive and diversified exposure to an affective state in a secure situation (p.67). The author further defined affect tolerance as the "comfort established incrementally through gradual familiarity and recognition, of a particular feeling state within the context of the self" (p.65). He emphasized that in this construct the absence or presence of an affect was less important than the manner in which the affect was experienced, handled or defended against. Absence of an affect, according to

the author, may mean the inability of a person to control, master or bear the affect.

Wilson (1985) related the concept of affect tolerance to the sequelae of the Holocaust in Holocaust survivors and their children and postulated that one generation's trauma brought about the next generation's lack of affect tolerance. Certain feeling states in the children became prohibited, because they elicited painful memories of the Holocaust in the parents. The parents might have either reacted to the evocation of certain Holocaust-related feeling states through emotional outbursts or they might have withdrawn silently. In order to avoid a negative parental reaction, the children might have joined their parents in their desire to forget by splitting off or dissociating those affects that evoke Holocaust-related memories in their parents. Wilson (1985) stated: "The threshold of tolerance for these particular affects consequently becomes lowered and the affect is not integrated within the normal developing affect array" (p.71).

Germany's trauma in regard to the Holocaust was different. Trauma, according to Freud and Breuer (1893), is any experience which calls up distressing affects such as those of fright, anxiety, shame or physical pain. The trauma for many postwar Germans consisted of feelings of shame and loss of pride. This study asserts that the younger generation of Germans, like the children of Holocaust survivors, feared their parents' reaction to the elicitation of these shameful feelings and memories. They too joined their parents in their goal to forget by splitting off or dissociating those affects that triggered memories of the war past.

Defensive Operations:

Freud mentioned defense as early as 1894 in his study "The Neuro-Psychoses of Defense" as well as in "The Aetiology of Hysteria" (1895) and in his "Further Remarks on the Neuro-Psychoses of Defense" (1896). Freud saw defense as the ego's struggle against troublesome ideas or affects. For a period of time he replaced the term defense with the term repression, only to go back to the old concept of defense in 1926 in an appendix to "Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety." Here he conceived of defense as "a general designation for all the techniques which the ego makes use of in conflicts which may lead to a neurosis, while we retain the word "repression" for the special method of defense....." (p.163). As LaPlanche and Pontalis (1973) noted, the study of defense mechanisms increased from 1926 on and became a major theme in psycho-analytic research. Anna Freud, in particular, influenced this development when she devoted her book *"The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense"* to the topic. She listed ten different defenses, among them regression, repression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, projection, introjection, turning against the self, reversal and sublimation/displacement, without claiming, however, that this list was either complete or methodical. She later added the processes of denial, idealization and identification with the aggressor to the former group of defenses. The author felt that repression was theoretically subsumed under the general concept of defense, yet occupied a special position among them. Repression, in her opinion, consisted in the withholding or elimination of an idea or affect from the conscious ego. As a defense mechanism she considered repression to be more efficient and able to master powerful instinctual impulses:

> It *(repression)* acts only once, though the anticathexis, effected to secure the repression, is a permanent institution, demanding a constant expenditure of energy. The other mechanisms, on the

> contrary, have to be brought into operation again whenever there is an accession of instinctual energy. But repression is not only the most efficacious, it is also the most dangerous mechanism. The dissociation from the ego entailed by the withdrawal of consciousness from the whole tracts of instinctual and affective life may destroy the integrity of the personality for good and all. (p.50)

Two theoretical issues remained unclear for Anna Freud at that time: one concerned the deliberations that lead the ego to make choices in regard to particular defensive processes; the other was the chronology of the defensive structure.

Among the defense mechanisms, according to Anna Freud, psychoanalysis was most familiar with the defenses that lead to adult neuroses. Here an instinctual wish seeks to enter consciousness and enrolls the ego to gain gratification. The ego, on its own, would be amenable; yet the superego causes conflict. The ego then gives in to the higher force and begins to struggle against the instinctual impulse. This instinct is considered dangerous due to the prohibition of its gratification by the superego. The motivation for the defense, according to Anna Feud, is anxiety that is related to the pressures of the superego.

Young children, although as yet lacking a superego, defend against their instinctual impulses in a similar way. Parental prohibition takes the place of the superego. Here the threat of punishment, or what Anna Freud called "objective anxiety", motivates the defense.

Instinctual anxiety, or fear of the strength of the instincts, takes place, according to Anna Freud, when the ego has evolved from the pleasure principle to the reality principle. At this level of development, the ego mistrusts the demands of the instincts and when demands become too

excessive, general weariness towards the instincts becomes intensified to the point of anxiety. Anna Freud concluded that in all three cases - - whether it concerned the fear of parental punishment, the fear of punishment by the superego, or the fear of the strength of the instinctual impulses - - it was anxiety that initiated the defensive process.

Empathy:

Empathy is generally defined as an understanding and sharing of another person's emotional experience in a particular situation. Lipps, around the turn of the century, coined the German term "Einfuehlung", which was translated by Tichener as "empathy" and had the meaning of 'feeling oneself into another person' (Wolman, 1977). Freud (1921) noted in regard to this topic that "a path leads from identification by way of imitation to empathy, that is, to the comprehension of the mechanism by means of which we are enabled to take up any attitude at all towards another mental life" (p.110).

In recent years, study of the concept of empathy has focused on two areas: (1) the empathy of the therapist towards the patient with its clinical implications, and (2) infant research, in order to understand the development of empathy in children. Kohut (1978), whose emphasis on empathy in the analytic situation has revived psychoanalytic interest in this topic, defined empathy as "a fundamental mode of human relatedness, the recognition of the self in the other; it is the accepting, confirming and understanding human echo" (p.704-705). Schafer (1959) who felt that a form of merging with the other was present in all empathy, considered, however, 'generative empathy' to be the most mature form of empathy. This level of empathy, he indicated, was characterized by the simultaneous appearance of merging and a

type of identification that remained separate within the ego. Schafer saw empathy "as the inner experience of sharing in and comprehending the momentary psychological state of another person" (p.345). Schafer traced the ability to empathize to remembered, corresponding affective states in one's own life.

Recent developmental studies (Hoffman, 1978; Stern, 1985 and Sander, 1980) have shown a more complex understanding of the early mother-infant interaction and the role empathic attunement of the mother plays in the development of the child. This research revised the notion of the infant as a passive object of care and considered the infant to be an active elicitor of care. It is during the early years that the infant and, later, the child, experiences and witnesses a nurturance that is based on the immersion of the parent in the needs of the child. As development unfolds, according to Anna Freud (1965), the child's egocentric view of the world and his fellow beings turns into empathy, mutuality and companionship with his contemporaries.

According to Jordan (1984), empathy requires a well-differentiated sense of self and a sensitivity to the differentness as well as the sameness of the other. The motivation for interpersonal relatedness initiates the process of empathy and allows for the understanding of another's affective signals and the surrender to the affective arousal in oneself. A temporary identification with the other's state takes place, during which, however, one is aware that the root of the affect is in the other.

In Jordan's view, empathy is related to self-representations and the flexibility of self-boundaries. The author stressed that self-representations are not global, but cohere around specific affective experiences. In turn, self-boundaries might be more or less rigid in certain affective experiences as well. If particular affective experiences are dissociated or defended against, it would

be less likely for the person, according to Jordan, to sense and tune into those affective states in another person. The author concluded, therefore, that empathy could not be looked at as a global function. Individuals differed, she felt, in their empathic responsiveness to different internal states of another.

2b) The Epigenetic Assessment Rating System

The Epigenetic Assessment Rating System (EARS) was conceived by Wilson and Passik (1993) to bridge the areas of psychoanalytic practice and research. It was meant to be an empirical method that could be utilized for the clinical analysis of narrative material. As a measure it rates ten psychological dimensions organized at five developmental levels (Wilson and Passik, 1993). The EARS is based on three schools of thought: Psychoanalysis, epigenetic views of development and the psychology of narrative speech productions. Epigenesis, a concept whose origins lie in biology, is used by theorists to explain a superordinate principle in the development from psychobiological functioning to more distinctly psychological functioning. (Wilson and Passik, 1993). Through their interaction with the environment, according to the authors, early and undifferentiated structures evolve in a series of levels, stages and modes into more and more complex and differentiated structures of personality organization. The qualitative form of each new mode depends upon the way in which the previous mode has been integrated. The authors argue that one important characteristic of epigenetic development, and consequently of this scale, is the notion that "once a given mode has been integrated by a higher mode, the more archaic form nonetheless continues to exist as a potential end point of regression, at which time it can become the overriding organizer of experience" (p.83). In response

to moment-to-moment experiences, intrapsychically as well as biosocially, dimensions of psychic structure are confronted with regressive and progressive influences. The outcome of these influences, as they are manifested in progressive and regressive shifts within personality dimensions, can be found, according to Wilson and Passik, in the individual's narrative productions.

Wilson and Passik (1993), in outlining their particular use of narrativity, state "that the narratives people create reflect crucial aspects of their life history and personality organization" (p.85). Within the theory of narration the authors are moving away from the previous narrative perspective, which concentrated strictly on the explicit narrative with a reliance on semantics. The authors of this measure consider the content of the narrative as well as the form in which this content is presented. This broadens the range of the measure in a way that the scale is applicable to verbal as well as accompanying nonverbal or enactive responses such as images, gestures, metaphoric expressions and non-verbal behaviors. And thus the authors are able to offer "a means of scoring pre-subjective, archaic phenomena which exist outside of linguistic coding" (Wilson, Kuras, Passik, Morral and Turner, 198 , p.7). Taking the scale beyond the verbal and lexical form allows access to more primitive modes of organization in the personality.

The EARS measures five modes of personality organization ranging from the most undifferentiated or pre-subjective, to the most complex and differentiated levels of development. The five modes, in short, correspond to psychotic (1), borderline (2), narcissistic (3), oedipal (4) and post-oedipal (5) levels of personality functioning. Wilson and Passik (1993) describe these five modes as having the following characteristics, which are common to all of

the 10 psychological dimensions to be listed and described later: (1) This mode covers the pre-subjective phase, in which pleasure and unpleasure dominate, information is encoded in sensorimotor and action-oriented forms and in which self and other are differentiated in a limited way. Avoidance of unpleasure is the defense of this phase. (2) This mode is considered a "transitional period" between presymbolic thought and symbolic representations. Others are seen as "separate but attached" and are represented in a polarized way as either all good or all bad. Projection is the predominant defense. (3) This mode emphasizes self-esteem and self-enhancement. Lexical representational abilities develop. Predominant defenses are denial and disavowal. (4) This mode is characterized by oedipal conflicts and the inner friction deals with issues of competition and self-assertion. Repression is the dominant defense. (5) This mode is identified as a period of benevolent conflict resolution. Creativity and generativity are the essential needs. The self, able to realistically assess its place and role in the world, experiences a sense of containment.

Wilson et al (1981, 1985) assembled ten psychological personality dimensions to be assessed by the EARS: Affect tolerance, affect expression, uses of an object, empathy, temporality, defensive operations, adaptive needs, centration-decentration, threats to the self and personal agency. Wilson et al. (1981,1985) state:

> These dimensions have been selected so as to be able to capture the nuances of how an individual constructs a psychological world. These include how he both tolerates and expresses affect, what he needs, is threatened by and defends against, and how he is able to use himself and others to accomplish these adaptive tasks. (p.8)

The present study will measure four of the ten personality dimensions listed above. They are (1) affect tolerance, (2) affect expression, (3) defensive operations and (4) empathy. Affect tolerance reflects a person's characteristic ways of regulating affective arousal, and of managing as well as tolerating emotions. Affect tolerance is measured according to the five modal levels described above. It ranges from immature modes such as avoidance of unpleasure or somatization of affects to more sophisticated modes characterized by an integration and modulation of one's emotional life. Affect expression is a dimension that reflects an individual's ability to communicate an emotional experience to another person. It provides information about the way a person, throughout his life, is able to signal internal feeling states to others. The modes of affect expression range from undifferentiated or fragmented affect to polarized and highly charged affects manifested as rage, free-floating anxiety and helplessness to egosyntonic affective experiences expressed as mature forms of grief, happiness and love. The dimension called defensive operations reflects the way unpleasure, anxiety and information that threatens the stability of the self is warded off. The modes of defensive operations range from the developmentally earlier action-oriented defenses to the more sophisticated verbal/symbolic ones like intellectualization and rationalization. The dimension of empathy reflects the ability to know other people and to share in their emotions. This ability evolves throughout development, starting with little more than a contagion of affect. Later, selective empathy, a partial knowledge of another or a stereotyping of others' internal states according to their functions or roles, emerges. Learning to understand and accept others on the basis of their distinct individualities evolves last.

Wilson and Passik (1993) achieved high levels of inter-rater reliability for the EARS when the measure was used on TAT responses. The inter-rater reliability ranged from .85 to .92, provided raters had undergone intensive training and had immersed themselves in the theory underlying the scale. The authors found that there was a significant drop in the modal level of organization when a low-arousal condition was compared with a high-arousal condition. This result fullfilled their hypothesis that a subject would function at higher modal levels of organization during a low-arousal condition and would regress to lower modal levels of organization in a high-arousal condition which confronted the subject with difficult integrative challenges (Wilson and Passik, 1993). This aspect of the measure is important to the present study since narratives of both low as well as high-arousal levels will be presented to the subjects.

The authors also found a significant difference between the scores of normals and inpatients on all ten personality dimensions. In their validity studies with both normal and inpatient groups Wilson and Passik supported their hypothesis that the EARS measures 10 relatively independent dimensions of personality organization which fluctuate according to the level of arousal.

The EARS was chosen as a measure for the present study, because it provides an empirical method to analyze narratives according to their thematic as well as structural aspects. In addition the measure is sensitive to subtle regressive and progressive shifts in the various personality dimensions in response to intrapsychic or psychosocial factors.

3a) The Fascism-Scale

The Fascism-Scale (F-Scale) was part of a large research project conducted by the authors Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950) called "*The Authoritarian Personality*". The F-Scale, which is also described above in the chapter on authoritarian education, measures "prejudice without appearing to have this aim and without mentioning the name of any minority group" (p.151). It is administered as a questionnaire with statements that are not explicitly ideological but relate to moral and personal values as well as to interpersonal relations. The authors describe the authoritarian type as a person who is "at the same time enlightened and superstitious, proud to be an individualist and in constant fear of not being like all the others, jealous of his independence and inclined to submit blindly to power and authority" (p.xi). The scale is made up of clusters of questions, each cluster representing a variable, which is identified by the authors as a contributor to the authoritarian personality syndrome (Adorno et. al.). The nine variables are conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotypy, power and "toughness", destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity and, lastly, sex. In the present study a modified version of the F-Scale was used to identify both subjects with antidemocratic tendencies as well as others who have internalized a more democratic or antiauthoritarian attitude.

III) Methodology:

Subjects:

For the present study 27 adults, between the ages of 19 and 34, were interviewed. The sample included 13 women and 14 men. The subjects all lived in Germany and were recruited through presentations in classes at the

Free University of then West Berlin, at the Humboldt-University of then East Berlin, at the Hochschule for Schauspielkunst Ernst Busch of East Berlin and at the University of Rostock.

Procedure:

Subjects were given a general description of the study and questions about procedure and participation were answered. An informed consent form was then read and signed by each participant. Each person filled out a questionnaire designed to provide demographic information. This questionnaire also included a modified version of the F-Scale. After completion of the paper work a separate appointment was arranged for the interview, which was to last about one-and-a-half hours. The semi-structured interviews covered questions about the subjects' early childhood, about the war years and the Holocaust and about their present outlooks. As part of the interview, two questions plus probes from the Early Memories Test were administered.

Instruments:

The Early Memory Test:

As part of the present study two questions of the Early Memory Test were used along with their probes. Subjects were asked to describe their earliest childhood memory as well as their unhappiest memory. For each memory the participants were asked how they saw themselves as well as others in the memory and what they were feeling.

The Krohn Object Representation Scale for Dreams:

The Object Representation Scale for Dreams (ORSD) is an ordinal scale of eight points,that measures increasing levels of interpersonal relatedness. Each scale point is designed to capture an individual's sense of others, ranging from primitive, malevolent and one-dimensional to differentiated, complex and fluid representations of self and other.

Six separate episodic memories were selected from each interview. One group consisted of the two early memories obtained from the Early Memories Test, the other group was made up of two memories related to the Holocaust and two questions addressing values in the subjects' present lives. The four questions of the second group had the following themes: (1) First memory of hearing about the Holocaust; (2) Asking the subject to imagine being part of the Nazi time; (3) How the subject experienced foreigners in Germany at the present time; (4) What is it like for the subject to be German.

The use of the Krohn scale to score the narratives required reliability training. Two raters were instructed to score both groups of narratives. One rater coded one third of the material and the other rater coded everything. Both raters were blind as to the participants' identifying information. Roth (1991) designed an addendum to the Krohn scale to facilitate scoring procedures for raters. Here raters were asked to score level of representation first and then to consider level of elaboration in each memory. It also stressed important features of each scale point. This addendum, as an additional guide for the raters, was used for this study.

The Epigenetic Assessment Rating System:

The narratives of the present study were rated using four subscales of the Epigenetic Assessment Rating System (E.A.R.S.): (1) affect tolerance; (2) affect expression; (3) defensive operations and (4) empathy. All four subscales are made up of five scale points that reflect five broadly-defined modes of personality organization. These modes of personality organization range from the most undifferentiated and pre-subjective to the most complex and differentiated levels of development.

Affect tolerance reflects a person's characteristic ways of regulating affective arousal and of managing as well as tolerating emotions. The five scale points which outline the modes of personality functioning within this dimension are: (1) The response shows an extreme intolerance for affect. Unpleasure is avoided by discharge through direct action with quickly shifting and fragmentary affect states. (2) Minimal affect tolerance is present, characterized by polarization of positive and negative feeling states, which tend to be highly charged. The cohesion of the narrative suffers in the attempt to keep contradictory emotions apart. The affective tone of the narrative tends to be confused, bland, glib and logically contradictory. (3) There is a rudimentary integration of opposing affects. Either positive or negative affects dominate. (4) Multiple affective experiences are represented simultaneously and although this produces some anxiety for the subject, it is tolerated and does not influence the cohesion of the narrative. (5) Conflictual affect states are accepted and creatively managed.

Affect expression is a dimension that reflects an individual's ability to communicate an emotional experience to another person. The five modes of affect expression are the following: (1) The subject's response reflects global and undifferentiated feeling states that are organized around unpleasure and overstimulation. Discharge occurs through sleep or expressions of rage. (2)

Affects are differentiated but highly polarized. Particular affects of this mode are helplessness, free-floating anxiety, primitive rage and need-gratifying dependency. (3) the affects of this mode reflect the need to protect illusionary beliefs about self and others. Descriptions of affect remain in the realm of narcissistic and need-gratifying longings. (4) Subject is able to express a full range of affects including conflictual affect states. Characteristic affective experiences of this mode are: Loss of self-esteem, joy taken in achievement or conflictual love. The anxiety that certain feelings states evoke is well modulated. (5) Affects reflect tolerable frustrations and conflicts of consciously lived experiences. They are accepted and ego-syntonic.

The dimension, defensive operations, reflects the way unpleasure, anxiety and information that threatens the stability of the self are warded off. The modes are as follows: (1) Discharge through action with the aim of returning to a preferred state of tension is the characteristic defensive strategy of this mode. (2) Unpleasurable states are split off into all-good or all-bad domains without being integrated. Primitive forms of idealization/devaluation, delusional projection, denial and grandiosity are the typical denfenses used at this stage. (3) Defensive operations help to protect self-enhancing illusions against troublesome aspects of reality. Disavowal, avoidance and minimization are used to maintain the subject's narcissistic image. (4) Compromises between emotions, attitudes and behaviors are formed at this level. Repression, rationalization, intellectualism and successful reaction-formation help to achieve this aim. (5) The defenses are flexible, include humor, and are no longer disruptive to selfhood or social expression.

Empathy reflects the ability to know other people and to share in their feelings. The modes are as follows: (1) Empathy is expressed as a contagion of

affect without any description of internal feeling states. People are understood only in terms of external physical characteristics. (2) Due to incomplete differentiation, other people might be perceived through a projection of one's own characteristics. Although others are seen as somewhat separate, internal states are perceived only on the basis of external characteristics. (3) People at this stage are perceived and understood largely because they are able to gratify basic needs. There is some recognition of the inner life of another person, but the other is not seen as a unique psychological existence. (4) Here the other is seen as a relatively independent and complex psychological existence. Contradictory elements within a person or between people cannot be reconciled yet. (5) Others are accepted as having independent and integrated psychological existences. Constant as well as changing qualities of the individual are perceived and understood.

The Fascism Scale:

In the present study the Fascism Scale (F-Scale) was administered as part of the questionnaire given to each subject. The 31-item questionnaire, used in the present study, represents a modified version of the F-Scale and was compiled from several subscales of the authoritarian personality-study as well as subscales of consecutive studies about the same subject matter. The subscales are as follows: Adorno F-Scale (Adorno et.al., 1950); Adorno Ethnocentrism-Scale (Adorno et.al., 1950); Rokeach Dogmatism Scale (Rokeach, 1960); Wesley Rigidity Scale (Zelen & Levitt, 1954); McGranahan Hypothetical Situation Scale (McGranahan, 1948); Kagiticibasi Questionnaire (Kagiticibasi, 1967); Block Attitude toward Parents Research Inventory (Peterman, 1965); University of California Parents Attitude Survey (Shoben, 1949). The items on the questionnaire allowed subjects to articulate their

degrees of agreement or disagreement with given values on a five-point Likert-type scale, with low values indicating dogmatic, authoritarian thinking and high values showing strong support for democratic values. A value of 3 indicated the middle position labeled "undecided".

Hypotheses:

This study is designed as a within subject comparison. Holocaust-related as well as Holocaust-unrelated narratives are being measured and compared for each subject. 27 comparisons will reflect how each subject functions in both types of narratives in terms of object relatedness, affect tolerance, affect expression, defensive operations and empathy.

Hypothesis 1: Each subject will exhibit lower scores across all measures of object relatedness, affect tolerance, affect expression, defensive operations and empathy (Krohn Scale and EARS Scale) on Holocaust-related narratives relative to narratives that were unrelated to the Holocaust.

Hypothesis 2: Subjects who score lower on the F-scale (more authoritarian) will have a more dramatic drop (less adaptive scores) on both the Krohn-scale and on the EARS-scale in relation to their Holocaust narratives.

III) RESULTS

The findings of this study will be reported in the following manner. First demographic information will be presented, then inter-rater reliability training and findings will be given, followed by quantitative results. In a study that primarily analyzes interview material, a focus on quantitative results can sometimes obscure other very interesting qualitative interpretations. Therefore, the section will conclude with qualitative descriptions of selected interview material.

a) Demographic Information

Twenty-seven young Germans from what had been known until 1990 as West and East Germany participated in this study. They ranged in age from 19 to 34 years with a mean age of 23. All subjects had been born in Germany, and with the exception of one, all had been raised there. The data of this study were collected at a time of vast historical change: The Berlin wall had been opened only seven months prior to the time the research began. It seemed particularly important to include young subjects from the Eastern parts of Germany, in order to capture the moment just after the demise of socialism, when Western influences had not yet shaped peoples' thinking. The majority (81.5%) of the subjects lived in the East and five subjects (18.5%) lived in the West. They were evenly divided between male and female, and all but one were enrolled at a university at the time of this study. The students attended school in three different metropolitan areas: East Berlin, West Berlin and Rostock. They had come to these urban centers, however, from various small towns or rural regions in Germany.

The parents of the subjects ranged in age from 41 to 72. The mean age of the mothers was 47.42 years and the mean age of the fathers was 52.76. It is important to note that 75.5% of the parents were less than 10 years old at the end of the war, or were born after the war. One quarter were older than ten at the end of the war; of those, nine or 81.8% were in their teens and two or 18% were over 20 years of age. Fifty percent of the fathers held advanced degrees including masters' degrees, law degrees and one doctorate; 21% had received bachelor's degrees and 17.9% had completed vocational training; only 3.6% did not complete high school. In comparison to the fathers, the mothers of the subjects received less education: 21.5% held advanced university degrees, 25% had earned a bachelor's degree, 42.9% completed vocational training and, like the fathers, only 3.6% did not graduate from high school. About two-thirds (64.3%) of the subjects reported that their parents were living together, while 10.7% had experienced the divorce of their parents, and 21.4% had lost a parent to death.

Asked about their parents' or grandparents' role during the war, most subjects spoke of their grandparents and parents as bystanders and victims of the war.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

Age of Subjects and Parents:

	Mean	SD	N	Range
Age of Subjects	23.33	19	27	19 - 34
Age Fathers	52.76	41	21	41 - 72
Age Mothers	47.42	5	24	40 - 71

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

Gender:

	Frequency	Percent
Female	13	48.1
Male	14	51.9

Table 3

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

East/West:

East/West	Frequency	Percent
East Germany	22	81.5
West Germany	5	18.5

Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

Educational Level of Subjects:

	Frequency	Percent
Less than High School	1	3.7
Trade or Vocational School	0	0
Enrolled in University	26	96.3

Table 5

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

Educational Level of the Fathers:

	Frequency	Percent
Less than High School	1	3.9
Trade or Vocational School	5	19.2
Bachelor's Degree	6	23.1
Masters, Law Degree etc.	13	50
Doctorate	1	3.8

Table 6

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

Educational Level of the Mothers:

	Frequency	Percent
Less than High School	1	3.9
Trade or Vocational School	12	46.2
Bachelor's Degree	7	26.9
Masters, Law Degree etc.	5	19.2
Doctorate	1	3.8

Table 7

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample:

Marital Status of the Parents:

	Frequency	Percent
Living together	18	66.7
Divorced	3	11.1
Spouse deceased	6	22.2

b) Reliability

The coding of the narratives in this study necessitated reliability training for both the Krohn Object Representation Scale for Dreams (ORSD) and the Epigenetic Assessment Rating System (EARS). The reliability for these scales was accomplished in eight training sessions. Both the principal investigator of the study as well as the primary coder are fluent in German and knowledgable in the various German dialects that are represented in this study. It was important to code the narratives in their original language in order to stay as close as possible to the meaning of each expression and to be able to detect subtle affective changes in the form of progressive and regressive shifts in the narratives.

During the training sessions, reliability was determined using sample early memories as well as TATs of non-participants in the study. Reliability for both scales was computed by generating percentages for exact agreement between the raters and for agreement within one scale point.

Reliability for the ORSD was as follows: Exact agreement on the ORSD was 74% and reliability within one scale point was 84%. Former reliability reported with the application of the ORSD to early memories reported 81% exact matches and 91% agreement within one scale point (Roth, 1991). Krohn and Mayman (1974) reported reliability for the ORSD to be 67% exact matches and 74% within one scale point.

Reliability for the EARS corresponded to the criteria set by Wilson et al. (1993) for the qualification as an expert rater (90% of the judgements between +1 and -1 scale point, with a minimum of 50% exact matches). The EARS examined four personality dimensions in this study: Affect tolerance, affect expression, defensive operations and empathy. The reliability for the four personality dimensions combined was as follows: Exact agreement was 58% and reliability within one scale point was 97.5%. Separately, the four dimensions obtained the following reliability measures for exact agreement and one scale point, respectively: For affect tolerance, 67% and 100%; for affect expression, 47% and 100%; for defensive operations, 60% and 93%; and for empathy, 57% and 97%.

After the training sessions for reliability were successfully completed, the narratives of this study were coded by the primary coder, who was blind to the purposes of the study and the hypotheses being tested. The principal investigator of this study coded one-third of the narratives and conducted reliability checks along the way. Divergent scores were discussed and replaced by mutually agreed-upon scores. For the actual data of this study the inter-rater reliability on the ORSD was as follows: Exact agreement was 72.54% and agreement within one scale point was 90%. Inter-rater reliability on the EARS for the actual data corresponded also to the criteria set by Wilson et. al. for the qualification as an expert rater. The four personality dimensions combined

achieved a reliability of 67.85% for exact agreement and 93.87% within one scale point. Separately, the four personality dimensions obtained the following reliability measures for exact agreement and one scale point, respectively: For affect tolerance, 73.46% and 91.83%; for affect expression, 73.46% and 95.91%; for defensive operations, 69.38% and 97.95%; and for empathy, 55.10% and 91.83%.

c) Descriptive Data

The subjects in this study were compared in terms of overall levels of personality organization as they responded to low and high levels of arousal in different sets of narratives. The six questions raised in the study consisted of two early memory questions, two questions about the Holocaust and two questions about issues in the subject's present life. The early memory question asked about the earliest memory and then about the unhappiest memory. The earliest memory was thought of as more general and constituted a more moderate level of arousal, whereas the question about the unhappiest memory represented a higher level of arousal.

Similarly, the Holocaust-related questions asked first in a more general way about the images evoked by the Holocaust while the second question asked the subjects to imagine being a part of that time. The first question could be answered by conveying images transmitted by parents, grandparents, films or books, whereas the second question brought the issue closer to the subjects' personal experience and therefore heightened the level of arousal.

It had been expected, as indicated in Hypothesis 1, that subjects would exhibit shifts to lower modes of personality organization across all measures of object relatedness, affect tolerance, affect expression, defensive operations and empathy (Krohn Scale and EARS Scale) on Holocaust-related narratives

as opposed to narratives that were unrelated to the Holocaust. Using a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to test the hypothesis, no significant difference was found between early memories and Holocaust memories. ($F(1,24)= 2.86$, $p= .104$). Although this hypothesis did not prove to be significant, it is important to note that scores in all five personality dimensions demonstrated a downward shift when measuring Holocaust-related narratives as opposed to Holocaust-unrelated narratives. This downward shift was universal for all dimensions and all measures, though the effect was not large enough to be statistically significant. It seems noteworthy that the personality dimension of affect tolerance was found to have the biggest downward shift, followed by the level of object representation and empathy. Defensive operations and affect expression had the slimmest gap between the two types of narratives. Table 8 and Graph 1 illustrate this direction of the scores.

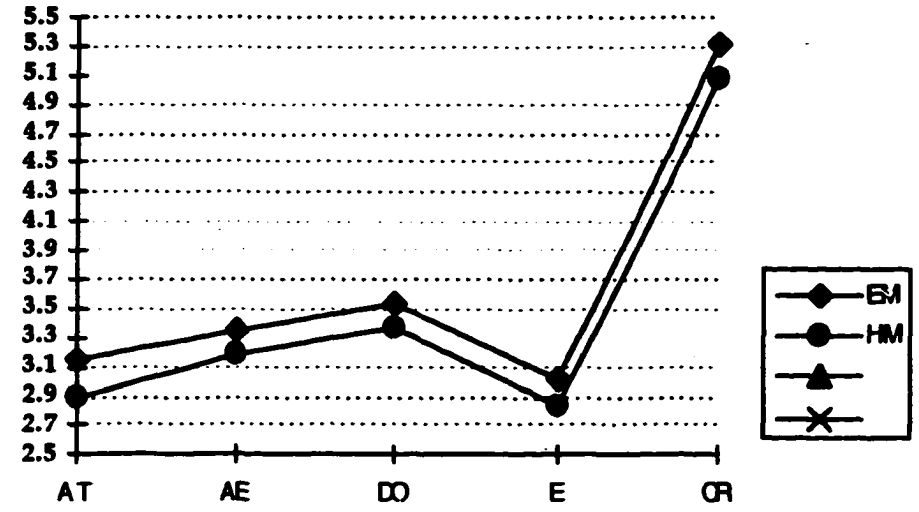
A further hypothesis stated subjects who exhibited an authoritarian outlook (low Fascism Scale scores) would also demonstrate a more dramatic downward shift in their scores (Krohn and EARS) as they were confronted by the two types of narratives (Holocaust-unrelated versus Holocaust-related). The Fascism Scale ranges from one to five with one representing the highest level of authoritarianism and five indicating the most anti-authoritarian and democratic attitude. The Fascism Scale scores in this study ranged from 3.17 to 4.31 with a mean score of 3.62. These scores were so tightly bunched together that there was no meaningful way to separate the subjects into a high and a low performing group. Therefore Hypothesis 2 could not be tested because the F-Scale scores were not variable enough.

All components of the EARS and the Krohn-Scale were compared with each other to see if they overlapped and measured the same thing or if they

were rated differently. The goal was to see if the measures themselves were in some way influencing the results. A significant main effect was found, indicating that the scales did not duplicate and seemed to measure different things ($F(4, 96) = 65.17$, $p < .0001$).

In addition, three different practice effect analyses were done to see whether or not the sequence of the questions might have interfered with the findings. The first practice effect analysis tested if the first memory was different from the second memory. The difference was not found to be statistically significant. ($F(1,24) = .55$, $p = .464$). The second analysis of a practice effect tested if there was an interaction between the type of memory and the sequence of the memory. Again, no statistically significant interaction was found. ($F(1,24) = 1.10$, $p = .305$). The third analysis of a practice effect was analyzed to see if differences between early memories and Holocaust memories were differentially detected by the different measures. No statistically significant difference was found on any measure ($F(4,96) = .37$, $p = .83$). The fourth analysis of a practice effect examined if there was an interaction between the sequence of the memories and the different measures. No statistically significant interaction was found ($F(4, 96) = 1.48$, $p = .215$). An overall interaction effect between the type of memory, the sequence of the memory and the measures was tested. Again, no statistically significant interaction was found ($F(4,96) = 1.11$, $p = .355$).

Graph 1



EM = Early Memories
HM = Holocaust Memories

Table 8

MEAN RATING SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATION SCORES FOR AFFECT TOLERANCE, AFFECT EXPRESSION, DEFENSIVE OPERATIONS, EMPATHY AND OBJECT REPRESENTATION FOR EARLY MEMORIES AND HOLOCAUST MEMORIES

Memory Type	Affect Tolerance	Affect Expression	Defensive Operations	Empathy	Object Represent.
Early Memory	Mean S.D. 3.15 1.00	Mean S.D. 3.35 .93	Mean S.D. 3.54 .78	Mean S.D. 3.02 .96	Mean S.D. 5.31 2.06
Holocaust Memory	Mean S.D. 2.89 .84	Mean S.D. 3.19 .78	Mean S.D. 3.37 .83	Mean S.D. 2.83 1.00	Mean S.D. 5.0 1.68

Table 8A

MANOVA 1

EARLY MEMORIES VERSUS HOLOCAUST MEMORIES

Factor	DF	SS	MS	F	p
TypeMem (A)	1	6.96	6.96	2.86	.104
RptMem (B)	1	1.46	1.46	.55	.464
Measures (C)	4	324.57	81.14	65.17	<.0001
A X B	1	2.45	2.45	1.10	.305
A X C	4	.63	.16	.37	.83
B X C	4	2.53	.63	1.48	.215
A X B X C	4	2.54	.63	1.11	.355
between Subjects	24	245.69	10.24		

d) Post-Hoc Analyses

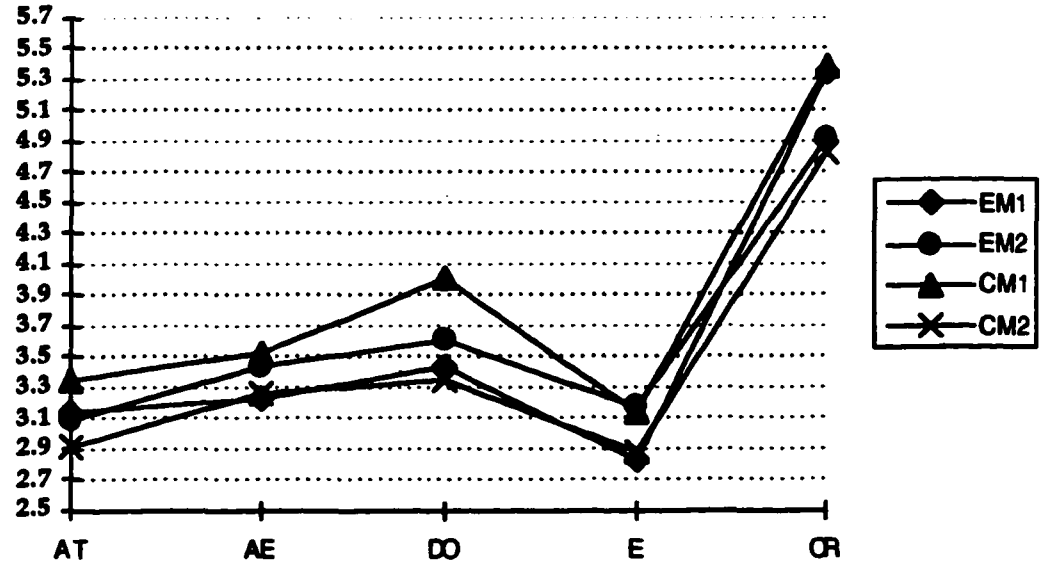
Since differences between early memories and Holocaust memories did not yield any significant results, a post-hoc analysis was carried out on a third set of narratives. This third set of narratives was called "contemporary memories" and addressed issues in the subjects' present lives. The subjects were asked about their feelings in regard to foreigners in Germany and about what meaning it had for them to be German. Comparing early memories and contemporary memories overall, no significant differences were found. Looking at the four memories individually, however, significant differences emerged.

Testing a practice effect between the type of memory and the sequence of the memories, contemporary memory 1, which dealt with the foreigner question, scored significantly different from both early memories and the other contemporary memory ($F(1,22) = 4.36$, $p = .049$). All scores of this memory, except the score for one dimension, were higher than the scores of

the other three memories. Only the empathy score dipped below the empathy score on the second early memory. There was also a practice interaction effect between the sequence of the memories and the measures, which emerged as a trend and showed that there were differences in the ratings of the first and second memories F(4, 88)= 2.07, p= .091).

Again the main effect for measures was significant (F (4,88)= 85.98, p< .0001) as the different scales were rated differently, regardless of the type of memory. Graph 2, Table 9 and Table 9A will illustrate these results.

Graph 2



EM 1 = Early Memory 1
EM 2 = Early Memory 2
CM 1 = Contemporary Memory 1
CM 2 = Contemporary Memory 2

Table 9

MEAN RATING SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATION SCORES FOR AFFECT TOLERANCE, AFFECT EXPRESSION, DEFENSIVE OPERATIONS, EMPATHY AND OBJECT REPRESENTATION FOR BOTH EARLY MEMORIES AND BOTH CONTEMPORARY MEMORIES

Memory Type	Affect Tolerance		Affect Expression		Defensive Operations		Empathy		Object Represent.	
Early Memory 1	Mean 3.15	S.D. .99	Mean 3.22	S.D. .93	Mean 3.48	S.D. .80	Mean 2.85	S.D. .86	Mean 5.52	S.D. 1.53
Early Memory 2	Mean 3.08	S.D. 1.00	Mean 3.48	S.D. .92	Mean 3.60	S.D. .76	Mean 3.20	S.D. 1.04	Mean 5.08	S.D. 2.53
Contemp. Memory 1	Mean 3.32	S.D. .80	Mean 3.52	S.D. .71	Mean 4.00	S.D. .58	Mean 3.12	S.D. .73	Mean 5.27	S.D. 1.24
Contemp. Memory 2	Mean 2.85	S.D. .86	Mean 3.15	S.D. .77	Mean 3.30	S.D. .78	Mean 2.85	S.D. .77	Mean 4.78	S.D. 1.44

Table 9A

MANOVA 2

EARLY MEMORIES VERSUS CONTEMPORARY MEMORIES

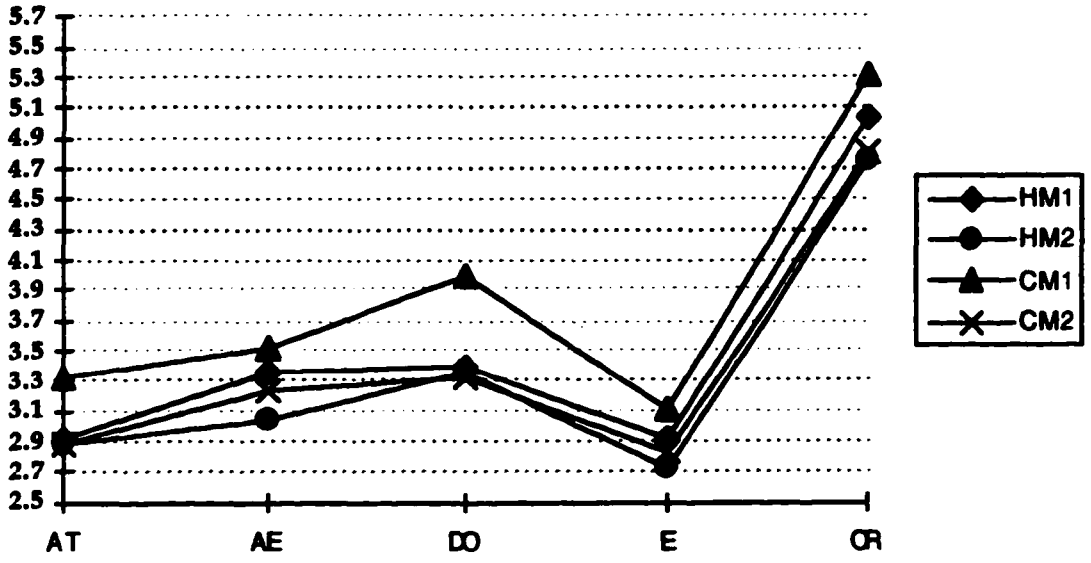
Factor	DF	SS	MS	F	p
TypeMem X RptMem	1	6.82	6.82	4.36	.049
RptMem X Measures	4	4.23	1.06	2.07	.091
Main Effect Measures	4	271.44	67.86	85.98	<.0001
Between Subjects	22	156.70	7.12		

Comparing Holocaust memories with contemporary memories again showed no overall differences. Teased apart into four individual narratives, however, they did show significant differences. A significant repeat effect emerged between the first and the second question of each set of memories ($F(1,24) = 6.68$, $p = .016$). The first war memory, which asked about images of

the Holocaust, and the first contemporary memory (about foreigners) scored significantly higher than war memory 2 and contemporary memory 2.

The main effect for measures was again significant ($F_{4,96}=92.24$, $p<.0001$) as the different scales were rated differently regardless of the type of memory. Graph 3, Table 10 and Table 10A will illustrate these results further.

Graph 3



HM 1 = Holocaust Memory 1
HM 2 = Holocaust Memory 2
CM 1 = Contemporary Memory 1
CM 2 = Contemporary Memory 2

Table 10

MEAN RATING SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATION SCORES FOR AFFECT TOLERANCE, AFFECT EXPRESSION, DEFENSIVE OPERATIONS, EMPATHY AND OBJECT REPRESENTATION FOR BOTH HOLOCAUST MEMORIES AND BOTH CONTEMPORARY MEMORIES

Memory Type	Affect Tolerance		Affect Expression		Defensive Operations		Empathy		Object Represent.	
Holocaust Memory 1	Mean 2.93	S.D. .78	Mean 3.37	S.D. .69	Mean 3.41	S.D. .75	Mean 2.93	S.D. 1.04	Mean 5.11	S.D. 1.65
Holocaust Memory 2	Mean 2.85	S.D. .91	Mean 3.00	S.D. .83	Mean 3.33	S.D. .92	Mean 2.74	S.D. .98	Mean 4.89	S.D. 1.74
Contemp. Memory 1	Mean 3.32	S.D. .80	Mean 3.52	S.D. .71	Mean 4.00	S.D. .58	Mean 3.12	S.D. .73	Mean 5.27	S.D. 1.24
Contemp. Memory 2	Mean 2.85	S.D. .86	Mean 3.15	S.D. .77	Mean 3.30	S.D. .78	Mean 2.85	S.D. .77	Mean 4.78	S.D. 1.44

Table 10A

MANOVA 3

HOLOCAUST MEMORIES VERSUS CONTEMPORARY MEMORIES

Factor	DF	SS	MS	F	p
RptMem	1	11.86	11.86	6.68	.016
Main Effect Measures	4	283.77	70.94	92.24	<.0001
Between Subjects	24	158.93	6.62		

e) High and Low Performers

On the one hand, each measure had a full range of scores overall; yet when those scores were collapsed into the different sets of memories, few significant differences emerged. Therefore, it seemed important to look at individuals' ranges on the measures. As a post-hoc criteria, subsamples of high-performers and low-performers were selected to see if the measures tapped into the correct dimension. The purpose was to see the range of

pathology as well as the range of health and to explore if and how they differed meaningfully from each other.

The Krohn Scale:

The Krohn-Scale is an ordinal scale with eight scale points. The low performers on this scale had scores of five and below; the high performers scored six and above. For the Krohn-Scale, which measured the level of object representation, three subjects made up the low-performing group whereas seven subjects comprised the high performers; the remaining subjects achieved scores in the middle range. The low performing group was characterized by early memory scores that were lower than both Holocaust memories or contemporary memories. Their mean score of 2.33 on the Krohn-Scale measured at a level where the subjects' inner world missed any true experience of genuine mutuality with others and was characterized by depictions of others that were malevolent and cold. At the time of the interview, all three low performing subjects expressed early trauma or present difficulties in their lives. One subject had lost his mother; another, as an only child, had struggled with the divorce of his parents and a third subject refused to talk about her unhappiest memory. This group maintained a low level of performance throughout the three types of questions, with contemporary memories receiving the highest score.

Table 11

MEANS OF LOW AND HIGH PERFORMING KROHN-GROUP:

Memory Type	Early Memory	Holocaust Memory	Contemp. Memory
Low Performers	2.33	3.16	4.16
High Performers	6.78	6.35	5.64

The high-performing group was characterized by high early memory scores, with a small drop for Holocaust memories and another downward shift for contemporary memories. The mean score of 6.78 for early memories reflects a level of relatedness where representations of self and other are subtle, unique and affectively alive. At the time of the interview, the seven high-performing subjects were perceived as self-confident as well as self-aware. They related in a direct way, conveying their thoughts with genuine affect.

It is important to note that the high performers on the Krohn Scale and the high performers on the EARS Scale overlapped considerably: Of the seven high performers on the Krohn Scale, five could be found again in the group of high performers on the EARS Scale. Among the low performers, one subject overlapped from the group of three low-performers on the Krohn-Scale to the group of four low performers on the EARS-Scale. All remaining subjects of the low performing groups on both scales, however, remained at the lower end of the groups, performing on a midrange level.

The EARS Scale:

The Epigenetic Assessment Rating System is an ordinal scale with five scale points. The low performers on this scale had no scores of five and only a limited number of scores of four. The high performers had scores between three and five. The EARS Scale, which measures affect tolerance, affect expression, defensive operations and empathy, had four low performers and six high performers. Among the low performing group, the set of contemporary memories received the highest scores, followed by early memories; Holocaust memories obtained the lowest scores. This group had

an overall mean for affect tolerance of 2.33. This score represents minimal affect tolerance which may be characterized by a polarization of positive and negative feeling states. The mean score for affect expression was 2.83, which reflects feeling states that are organized around the wish to protect illusory, grandiose beliefs about self and others. The defense score had a mean of 2.87, which is characterized by the use of the defenses disavowal and avoidance. The empathy mean score was 2.16, which describes a level of empathy at which the internal feelings of others are understood exclusively on the basis of their external characteristics. The scores among this group remained low throughout the different types of memories as well as the different personality dimensions. The personality dimensions empathy and affect tolerance scored on a consistently lower level than defensive operations and affect expression.

During the interview, the low performing group on the EARS scale stood apart particularly in the personality dimensions of defensive operations and empathy. The subjects were extremely defended and cut off from the issues of the Holocaust, and unable to demonstrate empathic affect.

Table 12

MEANS OF THE LOW PERFORMING EARS-GROUP:

Memory Type	Early Memory	Holocaust Memory	Contemp. Memory
Affect Tolerance	2.25	2.12	2.62
Affect Expression	2.75	2.75	3
Defensive Operations	2.87	2.62	3.12
Empathy	2.25	1.75	2.5

Table 13
MEANS OF THE HIGH PERFORMING EARS-GROUP

Memory Type	Early Memory	Holocaust Memory	Contemp. Memory
Affect Tolerance	3.83	3.58	3.58
Affect Expression	3.75	3.5	3.66
Defensive Operations	4.1	3.91	3.91
Empathy	3.83	3.58	3.41

The high-performing EARS group was characterized by early memory scores that were higher than both Holocaust memories and contemporary memories. There was only one subject in this group, who had not been represented in the high-performing Krohn group. During the interview, this subject - - like all the other subjects in this group - - communicated a sense of self-assuredness and openness as well as an empathic interest in others. The high-performing EARS group had consistently higher scores throughout and varied minimally between the dimensions of affect tolerance, affect expression and empathy. Defensive operations scored highest in this setting.

Both groups maintained consistent scores throughout: The high performers remained at the high levels whereas the low performers stayed at the lower levels of performance. Clinical observations confirmed each subject's individual level of performance in the low as well as in the high performing group. This established that the two groups of subjects differed in a meaningful way from each other and that the instruments measured the range of health as well as the range of pathology in an appropriate way.

The six questions posed in this study consisted of two early memory questions, two questions about the Holocaust and two questions about issues in the subject's present life. Both sets of early memories and Holocaust memories, as indicated above, consisted of one question that constituted a more moderate level of arousal and one question that represented a higher level of arousal. The third set of questions, dealing with issues in the subject's present life, duplicated this pattern of a shift in the arousal level between the first and second question. Here, the subjects were asked first about their feelings in regard to foreigners in Germany and, secondly, about the meaning it had for them to be German. Again, as in the other two sets of questions, the first question, which addressed the subjects' feelings about foreigners, represented more of an external issue, related to the larger society. The question about being German, however, involved each subject in a more existential and personal way.

Both sets of questions - - the Holocaust memories as well as the contemporary memories - - reflected these differences in regard to the arousal level of the questions in all their scores on all the personality dimensions. As Table 9 illustrates, the early memories were different in that they had a downward shift between the first and second memory on the personality dimensions of object representation and affect tolerance; the other dimensions (affect expression, defensive operations and empathy), however, showed an upward trend.

The largest discrepancies were noted between the two contemporary memories. This was true for all the personality dimensions, particularly defensive operations, object representation and affect tolerance. The two Holocaust memories had the largest difference in affect expression and object

representation, whereas the early memories had a downward shift in the personality dimension of object representation.

The sample is almost evenly divided into male and female groups and although we were not particularly interested in gender differences, we did examine the scores. The review of the mean scores for the three types of memories revealed that there were no apparent or meaningful differences between male and female subjects on any of the three types of memories or any of the personality dimensions. For all three sets of questions, female subjects scored higher on affect tolerance and empathy when compared with the male subjects in the study. The scores of female subjects were also higher on the personality dimensions of affect expression and defensive operations for early memories and contemporary memories. The exception were scores in these dimensions for the Holocaust memories. It is important to note that, except for the dimension of object representation, the scores of female subjects showed a greater downward shift in the direction predicted by the hypotheses, than the scores of male subjects.

Female subjects did score somewhat more poorly on all dimensions, when comparing early memories and Holocaust memories whereas male subjects demonstrated a downward shift only in object relatedness, affect tolerance and defensive operations. Overall scores of male subjects fluctuated less than scores of female subjects.

Table 14
MEAN RATING SCORES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE SUBJECTS

Personality Dimension	Early Memories	Holocaust Memories	Contemp. Memories
Object Representation Male	5.37	5.00	4.88
Object Representation Female	5.24	5.00	5.20
Affect Tolerance Male	3.03	2.85	3.00
Affect Tolerance Female	3.28	2.92	3.16
Affect Expression Male	3.14	3.21	3.29
Affect Expression Female	3.56	3.15	3.36
Defensive Oper. Male	3.51	3.39	3.59
Defensive Oper. Female	3.56	3.34	3.68
Empathy Male	2.81	2.82	2.85
Empathy Female	3.24	2.88	3.12

d) Clinical Vignettes

The hypotheses of this study predicted that subjects would demonstrate a downward shift in their personality functioning when confronted with questions about the Holocaust. This downward shift was present, although not at a statistically significant level. The purpose of the clinical vignettes is to explore more extensively the ways in which particular subjects in the study have dealt with the issue of the Holocaust. In a study with a relatively small sample, it seems very important not to lose sight of unique clinical details that can better be described in qualitative rather than quantitative ways. In

addition, this individualized analysis allows for a more differentiated understanding of the various ways in which the information about the Holocaust has been processed.

Three different styles of relating to the issue of the Holocaust will be depicted in this section, which correspond to the categories of low and high performers described in the previous section of the empirical results. One of the three styles of relating, depicted here, is unusual and does not fit either of the two categories. The first group had a sense of self and others which was stereotyped and detached. This group had difficulty tolerating emotions, lacked empathy and used denial and avoidance as defenses. They tended to relate to the Holocaust in a rigid and defensive manner, detaching emotionally in order to maintain a fragile sense of self. This style will be referred to as "rigid" and corresponds to the low-performing group in the empirical part of this study.

The second style is depicted by one individual vignette. This subject's personal experience tied her closely to the Holocaust. She had a strong sense of self overall, saw others with sensitivity and empathy, and could tolerate multiple affective experiences. However, she demonstrated a profound and disorganized sense of conflict about the events of the Holocaust and its meaning to her own life. This style of relating will be referred to as "conflicted" and corresponds to neither high nor low performers in the empirical part of the study.

A third group of subjects exhibited a differentiated and vibrant sense of self and an ability to tolerate and express multiple affective experiences. These subjects used higher level defenses such as intellectualization and rationalization, were able to relate to the emotions evoked by the Holocaust, and could begin to integrate information in a flexible way. This style will be

referred to as "flexible." This group corresponded to the high performers in the study.

THE RIGID EXPERIENCE: WERNER

Werner was a 22-year-old blond and blue-eyed male, who was raised in the southern region of the former West Germany. He came to Berlin to study natural sciences. During the interview, he was reserved and formal, lacking interpersonal ease and warmth. His answers were articulated with great care and were quite stilted in style.

Werner described a happy childhood in a family with three siblings and a large extended family. His father had a degree in business administration and his mother had studied hotel management. His memories revolved around the feeling of security his family had given him and his ambivalence about separating from this safe haven. Asked about his unhappiest memory, he answered: "I don't think I can express it like that. While I am trying not to suppress the negative, I prefer to see the negative as something neutral and, in conjunction with that, I like to emphasize the positive."

It was interesting that even the descriptions of his family lacked colorful and expressive affect, except when he described his enjoyment of food cooked by his mother. During questions about the war and the Holocaust, Werner became noticably more shielded and his face betrayed little emotion.

Asked about how he had learned about WWII, Werner answered: "Overall, WWII was not a topic in my family." Occasionally, at large family gatherings, while eating cake and sipping coffee, the war experiences of the

grandfathers were discussed. One had served as a petty officer, the other had been a soldier. Werner had learned little about WWII in school and stated that he was far more interested in the history of the turn of the century than in the events of WWII. The Holocaust, he stated, was history for him, consisting of events that had actually happened. There was something to be learned from it, he conceded, yet he cautioned against guilt feelings, which, in his opinion, were expected and encouraged by foreign countries even now. His feelings about the Holocaust were neutral, he repeated, and since he was born in 1968, he felt that it didn't concern him. "Even my father's generation was too young to have been involved and my grandparents were not in the SS (Schutz Staffel) or SA (Sturm Abteilung). Everything that has happened was outside of my family, therefore I don't have a personal connection."

Asked if he could imagine what it would have been like to experience the Nazi era, Werner answered that he couldn't imagine that and that he wasn't the type of person who pondered the past; rather, he focused on the present and the future. Werner's detachment and inability to affectively relate to any aspect of the Holocaust was pronounced, yet when discussing what he considered to be the merits of the Nazi era, Werner became less reserved. He praised Hitler's ability to ameliorate many shortcomings of German society in 1933. Unemployment was practically wiped out, he said, and families were fed again when people found work building the Autobahn. The Hitler Youth gave rural youngsters a chance to leave their villages for the first time and see different parts of the country. But nowadays, he said, only the negative aspects of the Hitler time were stressed.

When Werner was asked how he would explain the Holocaust to his children, he stated that he would teach them about the Holocaust in the same way he would teach them about the Huguenots in France and about the

Russian revolution, during which political groups were persecuted as well. The Holocaust, Werner said, was the German equivalent in history.

THE RIGID EXPERIENCE: GITTA

Gitta was a 19-year-old blonde female, tall and somewhat heavy-set, who studied English at Humboldt University in former East Berlin. She was born and raised in Berlin. Both her parents were highly educated and worked as engineers at the Academy of Sciences. She had a sister who was four years older. During the interview, Gitta smiled nervously and answered questions without much hesitation, utilizing little time to reflect. While her body language communicated some anxiety and reserve, her affect as well as the intonation of her voice remained flat throughout the interview.

Gitta described a happy childhood, during which she could tell her parents, particularly her mother, anything that was on her mind. In relating her early memories, she shared how injuries and pain in herself and in other people always made her laugh. Even when probed, she showed little insight into the defensive function that this served. Similarly, when she was describing any feelings, she replaced the personal "I" with an impersonal "one." Throughout the interview, it appeared to be very difficult for her to tolerate any emotional discomfort and she reacted with detachment.

Asked about how she learned about WWII, Gitta talked about the school as a factual source of information and about her grandmother, who had experienced the war in Berlin. She could remember sitting with her grandmother, listening to her stories about the war. She trusted her grandmother's historical interpretations far more than any other source. Her parents, she said, refused to talk about the war. They felt that the war was over and they couldn't understand why everyone still emphasized those

events as if they had happened ten years ago. Gitta herself was inclined to agree, feeling that the school harped on the subject every hour in the day and that it was getting to be too much for her also: "It happened, it was horrible, but why do we have to hear about it endlessly?" Asked about when she had first heard about the Holocaust, she described a visit to Buchenwald with her school: "The gas chambers were as grey as the war and I couldn't imagine that hundreds of people were crowded into this little room and then kicked the bucket. I do not have the imagination for that." Her peers were chewing gum and listened to their Walkmen, she said, there was no dialogue about it: "One was alone with it all."

Asked if she could imagine being part of the Nazi era, Gitta responded with a different story. She talked about what it was like to be a German now. She had visited Poland with some young friends when Polish youths recognized them as Germans, then threw tomatoes at them, yelling, "You Fascists, go to hell!" Gitta experienced this event as a great injustice: "How dare they judge me, I wasn't even alive then." She was relieved to see an older Polish man, who had experienced the war, come to comfort them by saying: "Don't worry about these kids. They don't know anything, I know you are not guilty." She insisted that the true culprits should be blamed and that even her grandmother was as innocent as she was. Did her grandmother know about the persecution of the Jews? Her grandmother did know, Gitta said, but there were no Jews on Buechnerstrasse, where she lived, and in her circle of friends and in her environment there were no Jews. Asked if she felt that the knowledge of the war and the Holocaust had any influence on her life, she answered: "No, not at all. One heard about it, one saw it, but one hasn't lived through anything like it." How would she have acted if she had experienced that period in history? "I would have saved my own skin, if

possible." And does she feel any responsibility for this part of German history? Her answer was: "No." To allow the emotions evoked by the Holocaust to affect her appeared to be very threatening to Gitta. She, like Werner, seemed to need to detach completely in order to maintain a fragile equilibrium.

THE CONFLICTED EXPERIENCE: ROTRAUD

Rotraud was a 23-year-old acting student at the Academy for Theatre Arts in former East Berlin. She had flaming red hair and a face covered with freckles. During the interview she was nervously sitting on the edge of her chair and answered questions with a rebellious and angry directness. She seemed to enjoy presenting a nonconforming image of herself.

Rotraud reported that both her parents craved a peaceful and protected life after the war, because those tumultuous years had forced them both to be raised by relatives. "The war was chaos and my parents wanted a peaceful life and then they had me, a child who by nature embraces chaos." Indeed, Rotraud has always considered the petit-bourgois life-style of her parents boring and distasteful, with all its orderliness and predictability. Rotraud's mother had received little education and had enjoyed raising her three children. Rotraud particularly resented her mother's role as a housewife and was disappointed by her complacency and lack of aspirations. Rotraud had two siblings - a sister five years her senior and a brother five years her junior, with both of whom she had a distant relationship.

The only close family relationship, albeit not conflict-free, was with her father, whom she idealized. She described him as a Renaissance man with a multitude of talents and interests. No words were necessary between them,

she said, in order for them to understand each other. Observing him pursue his intellectual and artistic goals gave her a model to emulate. She described her father and herself as very headstrong. Numerous conflicts erupted between them, particularly during her adolescence. These conflicts were volatile in nature and emotionally very painful for Rotraud. She feels that she learned to hide her feelings during that time.

In her family and in school Rotraud experienced herself as the black sheep. She was too skinny, she said, small, a redhead and very strong-willed. She remembers feeling emotionally bruised throughout her childhood. She coped by retreating to her room, where she drew or wrote stories: "I preferred my solitude to people who hurt me." Rotraud is now married to a managing director of a regional theatre, who is 25 years her senior.

Asked about how she learned about the war, Rotraud became visibly uncomfortable and began to talk about her grandfather: "I think I can talk about it since he is dead." Reluctantly, she shared that her grandfather had been "too engaged in Nazi activities" and had to go to Canada after 1945 in order to escape prosecution. He started a new life there, leaving his small son and wife in Germany. "I had fantasies about his life there and my sister and myself have always dreamed of seeing Canada." On the one hand, Rotraud said, her grandfather was the shameful relative about whom nobody in the family dared to talk; on the other, he was a romanticized figure in an exotic land. "He was our grandfather who sent numerous packages to us but none of us children ever met him."

Rotraud had one interaction with her grandfather. She once wrote a letter to him in English, which she was studying in school, and asked him to correct it. He mailed it back to her and corrected her mistakes in red ink. She was very happy that he helped her and took it as a token of his affection.

At the age of 74, Rotraud's grandfather was found and extradicted from Canada to West Germany to stand trial as a war criminal. Rotraud remembered how her family, who had known about his past all along and had kept it a shameful secret, was hurtled into chaos. They reacted with dismay: "Oh, this poor man, for God's sake, why are they doing this to him now?" The three children were not told any details, since the parents were afraid that they would tell the neighbours.

Rotraud was ambivalent when asked about the crimes her grandfather had committed: "I talked to my grandmother, his wife, but she had very little concrete information about his crimes. Of course, we knew he had to have done something, why else would they have extradicted him? He was a member of the Gestapo and was apparently accused of killing people on some island, but the court withdrew that count before the trial. A big show trial had been planned, but my grandfather died in prison before it started. The official word was that he had died of heart failure. No one disclosed whether it was a suicide."

Rotraud indicated that she was relieved that the trial had not taken place and agreed with the family consensus that the authorities should have left the old man alone. "I don't think this way because of everyone else, but because he was my grandfather. I don't believe he was a criminal. It is so unclear which of the counts he was charged with were really valid." Asked if she would like to know what he had actually done, she answered: "Yes, I would like to know and then sometimes I don't want to know, but my curiosity, I think, would like to find out."

At one point during the interview, Rotraud expressed how conflicted she felt about discussing this issue and that she would prefer to stop. It was less for her own sake, she said, but for the sake of her father and

grandmother, whom she did not want to hurt. It was even harder for the father and the grandmother to talk about the grandfather; neither of them dared to raise the issue of the grandfather unless the other initiated the discussion. "It is a taboo subject and therefore we all leave it alone. I don't believe that my family ever endorsed the persecution of Jews, but it just simply couldn't be discussed in my family and therefore I had to come to terms with it on my own."

Politically, Rotraud considered herself to be anti-fascist but was quick to add that she wasn't opposing her grandfather personally, she was opposing the whole regime. Asked what it would have been like for her to experience the Nazi era, she wondered about her instability and said she could imagine being both an ardent Nazi and an enthusiastic communist. As she talked about the present danger of right wing extremists, however, she suddenly stated that she would oppose her grandfather even though he was her relative. She would oppose him even with a weapon, she said, but couldn't imagine what she would do once she was standing face to face with him. "I know I have elements of my grandfather in me and could easily feel superior to other people just because I am German. But at the same time, I can imagine being Jewish during the war and being the victim. My consolation, when I think about my grandfather and his possible influence on me, is the fact that I have my own sensibility and my own mind to decide."

Rotraud's family silenced the memory of the grandfather and turned him into a taboo subject. This gave the children a sense of secret and mystery about the grandfather, which they filled with fantasies of an exotic and interesting figure. In addition, the family as a whole never openly condemned his criminal deeds but rather continued to identify with him. This left moral issues about the Nazi time unresolved for everyone, and

particularly for the children. Since the grandfather fled to Canada, the family could pretend his crimes had never happened and were spared the inner work of coming to terms with his Nazi past.

It was interesting how Rotraud, who was a highly functioning and gifted individual, struggled with the fundamental questions of right and wrong. The shameful silence, combined with a continued loyalty towards the grandfather, eliminated any fruitful exchange about these ethical and human questions. Through her rebellious behavior, Rotraud tried to break free from her family and its repressed past. She became the opposite outwardly, by being loud, rather than silent about her opinions, and by embracing chaos rather than orderliness. Internally, however, the rebellion was more difficult, since she had identified with the grandfather as someone else who was the black sheep in the family.

The latter part of the interview reflected her sense of intense confusion about her own moral convictions. She swayed from defending and adhering to the grandfather's image to rejecting what he stood for altogether. Her struggle with these issues was in the open and although she was oscillating in her views, she did not hide from the difficulty of finding her own convictions.

THE FLEXIBLE EXPERIENCE: ANNETTE

Annette was a self-assured and attractive 22-year-old actress, studying at the Academy for Theatre Arts in former East Berlin. During the interview, she was relaxed, yet intensely involved in the issues at hand. She related in a warm and open way, communicating her thoughts with straightforward and critical acuity. Her ability to describe a wide range of emotions in an evocative and detailed way was unusual.

Annette described an idyllic childhood in Halle, a medium-sized town in East Germany. Her family owned a large villa, with another family renting part of it. The two families both had children of similar age and shared many years of closeness. In her early memories Annette recalled the warm relationship she had had with her mother during her early years, when her father, an officer in the army, was away from home a great deal. Both her parents had lost their fathers in the war and ironically, both grandfathers died without knowing of the births of their children. Her mother favored Annette over her younger sister and idealized her as the perfect child. At an early age, Annette assumed leadership roles in her circle of friends and later in school as well. She showed great promise as an athlete and displayed powerful endurance in her training.

Annette's father deepened his relationship with her as she grew older and was described as quite formative and supportive in regard to her interests, values and goals. Due to his frequent absences, however, Annette's mother, who worked as an elementary school teacher in a rural school, became depressed and started to drink when Annette was about eight years old. She poignantly described her unhappiest memory of her mother treating her unfairly under the influence of alcohol. In response, she confronted her mother about her drinking. Her experience was a mixture of awe about her own courage to speak up and a feeling of profound loss in realizing the toll alcoholism was taking on her mother. According to Annette, her mother never recovered from alcoholism and Annette herself saw this memory as an epiphany.

Annette was the only subject who began talking about the war and the Holocaust without being prompted by questions. She has always been interested in this topic and often asked her grandmother how she could

possibly not know about the gas chambers. Her grandmother's answers were never satisfying to Annette. Her parents had talked to her about the war. Her father, in particular, was very interested in history and collected Hebrew manuscripts. He discussed with her Israel, the Old Testament and the founding of the state of Israel, yet he only touched upon the Holocaust.

Annette had read books and seen many films about this part of German history but felt that she didn't really relate to the Holocaust until she participated in a program performed at her acting school as part of the fiftieth anniversary of the Kristallnacht. This program was initiated by a female student whose grandfather was partly Jewish. Each student had to research Jewish culture in small communities and assemble testimonies about November 9th, 1938 - Kristallnacht. Vignettes about Jewish life and culture were juxtaposed with the orders given during Kristallnacht. The performance began with the weather report for that day: "The skies in the entire Reich are blue, some clouds in the North," followed by the orders to burn the synagogues, break the windows in Jewish-owned stores and round up the Jews. A poem called "The Death Fugue" by Paul Celan was recited side by side with anti-Jewish material written by Nazis for children. Often the actors were barely able to recite their lines, fighting tears and feeling an intense sense of shame and pain. Annette reported that this experience made her realize for the first time the extent of the tragedy and perversion of the Holocaust. Through this intense experience she felt emotionally connected to that part of history and considered herself very lucky to have been part of this production.

Asked about the ways in which she will teach her children about this part of German history, she said: "I will teach them about Jewish culture, read

them Jewish tales, so that when they are older, they will feel a connection and will be able to reflect on what happened during the Holocaust."

THE FLEXIBLE EXPERIENCE: JUERGEN

Juergen was a 25-year-old male with brown hair and of average height, who studied English and German literature at the University of Rostock. Part of a family of four, Juergen grew up in Wittenberg, a small town in former East Germany. His mother, to whom he felt very close, was a doctor, his father a chemist. His younger brother was five years his junior.

During the interview, Juergen related in a warm and direct way, had a good sense of humor, articulated his thoughts in a softspoken and calm manner and came across as both mature and introspective. Brought up partly in the care of his parents and partly in the care of his grandparents, his early memories reflect four caregivers who fulfilled his every wish. He regretted the ease with which he could get his way and missed in himself the strength to fight for an idea with perseverance. Juergen described a home life that was filled with humor and playfulness.

Asked about WWII, he was the only subject who differentiated between the twelve years of the Nazi era and the actual war. When Juergen learned about this historical period in school, he found discrepancies between what his parents had told him and the "official political viewpoint" of East Germany. Through the years, he said, his parents helped him to synthesize and integrate the divergent pieces of information.

Many schools in East Germany traditionally visit a concentration camp during the time of Jugendweihe, a youth initiation into the Communist Party when students are around 14 years of age. Apparently, Juergen was so afraid to go on this trip that he was eventually excused and stayed home. At the age

of 18, he had what he described as a key experience which allowed him to open up and confront the Holocaust for the first time in an emotional way. He visited Prague during the height of the tourist season and saw an exhibit in a synagogue which showed drawings by children who had been brought to the Jewish ghetto Theresienstadt. Very few of these children survived. As he saw the drawings, Juergen experienced a terrifying mixture of shame and fear. Here he was, he said, a tourist among tourists: "I was filled with a senseless fear, standing among people whom we, as Germans, had harmed with so much injustice and sorrow. After 40 years of peace, I was afraid they would hurt me and was astonished that they didn't." Joerg understood then how boundless the twelve years of the Nazi regime had been and how the Jewish culture and people had been severely hurt.

After this experience, Juergen reflected a great deal about the present prejudice against foreigners in Germany. Foreigners from Vietnam, Albania, Mozambique and other countries had been invited to work in East Germany and the government had granted them equal rights with other citizens. But they lived in isolation and were sneered at by the Germans for taking away their seats on the streetcars or in their favorite pubs. Juergen was well aware of the tensions that existed in East as well as West Germany in regard to foreigners and he was afraid that there was something different about the German mentality, which propelled them to continue to relate to foreigners in a xenophobic way despite the history of the Holocaust. Without the twelve years of the Nazi regime, he said, he wouldn't have had any reason to worry about this question but the bestiality of those years continued to worry him in terms of the future of his country.

SUMMARY:

Werner and Gitta, of the "rigid" group of subjects, related to the Holocaust with little or no affect and activated a considerable amount of mental energy to keep the topic at bay. This may suggest some anxiety or fear that a confrontation with this material might jeopardize their already fragile selves. According to Simenauer (1978) those who refused to confront this difficult issue were most in danger of repeating attitudes and behaviors related to the Nazi past as a "return of the repressed." Of all the subjects, 16.6% fell into this more rigid as well as low-functioning category.

Rotraud, who related to the Holocaust in a conflicted way, evidenced struggle and confusion, yet was active in her search for a more resolved understanding of herself in this context. In the empirical evaluation this subject's scores fluctuated between scores on either end of the scale. Her labile scores made her neither part of the high nor part of the low-performing group The downward shift between early memories and Holocaust memories was drastic in this case and continued to decline with the third set of questions.

Annette and Juergen, of the "flexible" group, represent those subjects who have formed a meaningful relationship to the Holocaust. For them the knowledge of this past is an integral part of themselves and has served as a learning experience for the future. In this sample, 24% represented a more flexible relationship to the memory of the Holocaust.

IV) DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to examine the kind of relationship young people in present-day Germany had formed in regard to their collective history of the Holocaust. In semi-structured interviews, 27 subjects were asked to reflect on events that had happened in their own country about fifty years ago. The aim of this study was to explore how these young people were able or unable to integrate the Holocaust into their personalities in regard to the quality of their representations of self and other, their affectivity, their defensive operations and their empathy. Two empirical measures were applied to the interview material to enable a quantitative analysis of the data. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to analyze the data. The results of the study, which were reported in the previous chapter, will be discussed in this section. Topics to be addressed include: demographic characteristics of the sample, empirical considerations, research findings, limitations of the study and overall implications of the research.

a) Overview of the Study and Research Findings

In this study, 27 subjects were confronted with Holocaust-related as well as Holocaust-unrelated narratives. The narratives that were unrelated to the Holocaust were made up of early memories, and considered to represent a moderate level of arousal. Holocaust-related narratives consisted of questions about the Holocaust, and were considered to represent a high level of arousal.

The first hypothesis predicted that all subjects would exhibit a downward shift in personality functioning across all measures of object

relatedness, affect tolerance, affect expression, defensive operations and empathy (Krohn and EARS) when responding to questions representing a high level of arousal. The second hypothesis proposed that subjects who exhibited an authoritarian outlook (low Fascism Scale scores) would also demonstrate a more dramatic drop in their scores of personality functioning (Krohn and EARS) when they were confronted with narratives evoking a high level of arousal.

The hypotheses were originally proposed based upon the contention that a historical event such as the Holocaust would have a powerful impact upon the future generations of the perpetrator/bystander nation. This study inquired if and how the passage of time since the war had altered the manner in which young people learned about and integrated the knowledge of the Holocaust into their lives. Mitscherlich (1968) and Dahmer (1989) contended that most members of the German war generation have been unable to adequately mourn and integrate the events of the war. Their detachment from the recent past has been reflected in a collective silence which prevented a potential intergenerational dialogue about the war and turned the Holocaust into a taboo subject. Overall loyalties toward their parents, combined with an authoritarian style of education, made it difficult for many young people to contemplate and integrate the meaning of this history into their personal lives.

According to these researchers it was the quality of the intergenerational dialogue that determined the level of integration a young person could attain. This dialogue determined whether the individual encoded the historical trauma as unintegrated memory fragments, which potentially persisted across generations, or if the person was able, over time, to achieve a psychological resolution.

Neither hypothesis in the study was significantly supported by the analysis of the data. For hypothesis one, additional analyses were performed to determine if the sequence in which the narratives were elicited yielded any significant differences or if significant effects existed between early memories and Holocaust memories. None of the analyses proved significant. In regard to hypothesis two, it became evident that the limited range in the scores of the Fascism Scale resulted in nonsignificant differences between the subjects overall and precluded a comparison with the subjects' level of personality functioning. The Fascism Scale as a measure for this study presented difficulties related to its dated language and its inability to connect with changes in the culture's attitudes. It seemed, even during the data collection, that the purpose of the measure was too transparent and that the subjects answered accordingly. It was overall surprising that the mean in this 5-point Likert scale was 3.62, indicating a fairly democratic and open minded attitude. This was particularly unusual since East Germany had never ceased to be under totalitarian rule: A totalitarian style of communism followed the Nazi regime and neither government had allowed its citizens freedom of expression. Consequently, one would expect findings that would reflect a high obedience to authority. Given the relatively high democratic ratings, however, one could speculate that people had become very sensitive and sophisticated about answering questions in a "safe" way. Former West Germans, who had a democratic government since 1945, had also become sensitive and sophisticated in regard to the questions asked in this measure, but for a different reason. Ever since the war West Germany had been scrutinized by other countries for its remnant fascist tendencies, and the questions in this instrument might have been phrased in a way that reminded the subjects of the "watchdog" behavior other countries had

displayed towards Germany. In sum, the Fascism Scale was unable to adequately tap into and measure the level of authoritarianism in this sample. The scores reflected a level of homogeneity that made comparisons with other personality dimensions impossible.

On the other hand, it is important to note that, overall, the scores for all five personality dimensions showed a downward shift when comparing early memories with Holocaust memories. This was true across all measures and all personality dimensions and, though the gap was not large enough to be statistically significant, the fact that the results of the study showed trends in the predicted direction strongly indicates that the conceptual framework of the study was sound.

In terms of the analyses of the narratives, the validity of the two measures used to assess the narratives was confirmed through a significant main effect, indicating that the scales were rated differently regardless of the type of memory. The validity of these instruments was confirmed additionallly by a post hoc procedure that selected high and low performers from the subject pool. The purpose of this selection was to see if the measures were able to tap into the different personality dimensions and assess whether they captured the range of health or pathology these subjects reflected during the clinical interview. Results showed that the low performers in one measure corresponded to low performers in the other measure, and likewise with the high performers. In addition, clinical observations during the interviews confirmed the same high and low performers. Thus, clinical observations concurred with the empirical data, further confirming the conceptual framework of the study. Considering the correct direction of the empirical results as well as the sturdiness of the measures, it is likely that the relatively small size of the sample as well as some of the more homogeneous

characteristics of the population were responsible for the lack of statistically significant results.

Another empirical result which merits further discussion concerns the personality dimension "affect tolerance", which was found to have the biggest downward shift from early memories to Holocaust narratives. This was followed by object relatedness and empathy. Defensive operations and affect expression showed the smallest gap between the two types of narratives.

According to Wilson (1985), affect tolerance develops "through increasingly intense and varied exposure to an affective state under conditions of security" (p.67). During early life the parent acts as an auxiliary stimulus barrier for the child, and as the child grows, the regulatory function of the parent slowly becomes internalized by the child. In discussing Holocaust survivors and the intergenerational transmission of trauma, Wilson stated that "one generation's trauma leads to the next generation's lack of affect tolerance" (p.70). Survivor families and perhaps also German perpetrator and bystander families might have had similar difficulties in tolerating those particular affects in their children that evoked memories of the Holocaust in the parents. These affects were most likely feared and avoided by both groups of parents. The children, in turn, in order to protect their parents, collaborated in the process of forgetting by splitting off or dissociating those affects. As a result, the threshold of tolerance for these particular affects became lowered and the affect was not integrated within the normal affective development. In this study, affect tolerance appeared to be most sensitive to the high arousal level of the Holocaust questions.

It is interesting that all three dimensions - - affect tolerance, object relatedness and empathy - - achieved larger downward shifts as well as lower performance levels than the other dimensions. All three dimensions are

developed within the early caregiver/child dyad as a result of appropriate affect modulation, empathic attunement and satisfying interaction with the caregiver. It can be speculated then that the traumatic memory of the war and the Holocaust, combined with the authoritarian child-rearing style of the war generation, affected the early dyad of the caregiver and child. Specifically, the early affect modulation might have been limited due to the painful and shameful memories held by many parents. In addition, empathy was not considered a virtue in the authoritarian model of education, but rather a weakness, and as such was probably less developed in both parents and children.

Finally, as noted earlier, development of affect tolerance was also compromised in the population. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the particular social and historical circumstances which provided the context for child-rearing in wartime Germany, resulted in the development of a post-war personality, which was likely to be compromised in the very areas which would have been crucial for integrating and dealing with the psychological realities of that time.

Furthermore, it is worthwhile to consider the nature of the five personality dimensions. The first three personality dimensions - - affect tolerance, object relatedness and empathy - - reflect intrapsychic qualities, while one of the other two dimensions under investigation - - affect expression - - is more outwardly oriented. Interestingly, this interpersonal dimension showed less of a downward shift when confronted with questions about the Holocaust and achieved higher scores on the levels of functioning.

One can speculate that, during the post-war years, Germany was steadily made aware of the Holocaust by foreign nations and, despite a desire to forget, Germans were forced into a chronic, if low grade, awareness of this

topic. The results of this study, although not statistically significant, suggest that the high level defenses and affect expression may reflect a learned way of communicating about the Holocaust, while the low levels of affect tolerance, object representation and empathy represent the more unconscious and unintegrated processes of dealing with the question of the Holocaust. Taken together, the "intrapsychic" and "interpersonal" scores reflect a superficial adaptation, but ultimately an internally disconnected approach, to the meaning of the Holocaust.

Post-Hoc Analyses

A third set of narratives, designated as the contemporary memories, was analyzed as a post-hoc measure. The aim of this analysis was to compare all three sets of narratives (early memories, Holocaust memories and contemporary memories) to see how they differed. One of the two contemporary memories dealt with foreigners in Germany. This particular narrative was significantly different from early memories, particularly in the dimension of defensive operations. It also emerged as a trend when compared with Holocaust memories. This first contemporary memory achieved higher scores in all personality dimensions than the other three memories (early memory 1, 2 and contemporary memory 2). This was particularly true for the personality dimension of defensive operations. In other words, the subjects in this study functioned on the highest level when they discussed the issue of xenophobia. This was a surprising finding, and bears further discussion.

In former East Germany, foreigners were officially considered to be "brothers and comrades" from other communist countries. The government invited them to study and to work, and valued their contributions. On a

more personal level, however, there was resentment among East Germans, expressed by their unwillingness to share the already small market of goods with these foreign visitors. The foreigners lived isolated in separate housing complexes, often without their families and for limited periods of time. In the former West Germany, however, foreign workers have been part of daily life since the 1960's. The families of these workers have settled in Germany and to a very limited degree have been integrated into schools and communities. Nonetheless, as events of the recent past have demonstrated, xenophobia is present at an alarming level in both regions of Germany. The violent crimes against foreigners during the past five years reflect a brutality and a level of sadism that caused concern in both German regions and abroad.

Several factors might have contributed to the surprisingly high personality scores achieved for this particular memory. As discussed earlier, the personality dimensions of defensive operations and affect expression resulted in higher scores than the dimensions of affect tolerance, object representation and empathy. This is true for this specific memory as well. In this first contemporary memory, defensive operations scored on a level where the defenses of rationalization and intellectualization were utilized. Rationalization is considered to be a defense whereby the subject attempts to give an explanation, which is either logically consistent or ethically acceptable, without necessarily revealing, however, true motives.

Rationalization had been used as a defense during the Nazi-time to justify war crimes and was used also after the war to cope with the collapse of the Reich. High level defenses might be responsible for the rapid rebuilding of Germany as well as its prosperous economy soon after its ruin. Part of the credit might therefore go to social influences for the use of this particular defense; yet it is also likely that for this study the high defense scores in this

particular question were related to the fact that the sample was skewed towards higher educational levels and that the subjects had the intellectual skills to rationalize these issues and that they had grown up in a country where this type of defense was used frequently.

Considering these results, one might speculate that high scores in affect expression and defensive operations combined with high scores in the other dimensions would indicate a higher level of working through and a certain degree of integration of the issues at hand. High level performance in defensive operations and affect expression paired with low performances in affect tolerance, object relatedness and empathy, however, might indicate a "learned" sophistication in communicating about the issue of the Holocaust, with no consideration for the underlying feelings and conflicts.

The clinical vignettes portrayed five subjects whose empirical results seem to confirm this speculation. Combined means for object relatedness, affect tolerance and empathy were compared with combined means for affect expression and defensive operations. For the two "flexible" subjects the differences between the two categories were minimal, with a slightly higher performance in the personality dimensions of object relatedness, affect tolerance and empathy. The stability of their scores across all five dimensions demonstrated a working-through process and a higher level of integration in regard to the Holocaust.

The two "rigid" subjects demonstrated greater differences between the two categories and performed on a lower level in the category of object relatedness, affect tolerance and empathy. For these subjects it was difficult to affectively relate to and connect with the Holocaust. They were able to talk about the issue in a limited way, but remained cool and uninvolved when commenting on disturbing and violent events of that time.

The "conflicted" subject showed a discrepancy between the two personality categories, yet performed on a higher level in the category combining object relatedness, affect tolerance and empathy. Her narratives contained palpable confusion and conflict but her scores indicated her willingness to tolerate and navigate her way through her shameful family involvement with the Holocaust. Her confusion was paralleled by a meaningful emotional involvement and high intellectual functioning.

Thus, for these five subjects, it can be said that consistently high scores in all five personality dimensions did indicate a higher level of integration of the issue of the Holocaust which was reflected by a greater ease with which the two "flexible" subjects were able to discuss this topic. In comparison, high scores in the personality dimensions of defensive organization and affect expression paired with lower scores in the other personality dimensions seemed to indicate a more superficial adaptation to the issue of the Holocaust lacking an inner connection.

b) Sample Characteristics

Unlike much of the Holocaust research to date, which focused on the victims of the Holocaust or the children of Nazis, this study consisted of a subject pool of young Germans (with a mean age of 23 years) who represented the grandchildren of the war generation. As such they were close to fifty years removed from the actual events of the Holocaust and had to rely on grandparents, parents, teachers and society in general for the transmission of information. Subjects from East Germany had formally learned about fascism and the Holocaust in school, with an emphasis on the victimization of communists by the Nazis. The persecution of the Jews was mentioned sparsely in the school curriculum as well as on memorials. The type of

learning West German participants experienced was more dependent on the initiative of individual teachers. Although the government recommended certain guidelines, their implementation was often limited.

Although all subjects, except one, were studying at universities located in three different large metropolitan areas, as children they had grown up in geographically diverse areas, ranging from rural settings, villages and small towns to larger cities all over Germany. All subjects were born and, with the exception of one, raised in Germany, which was appropriate for this study which examined the German past and German identity.

The population of this study was skewed towards the East with 81.5% of the subjects being from that region. The researchers considered the historical changes occurring during the time of the data collection to be a unique opportunity. Germany was in the process of uniting the Eastern and formerly communist part of Germany with the Western and democratic region. It seemed essential to capture as much as possible of the thoughts and feelings of East Germans, since the channels of communication were open for the first time in decades due to the falling of the Berlin Wall. In addition, it was an opportunity to capture a moment in time when Western influences had not yet colored the thinking of the East Germans. Due to these circumstances more subjects from East Germany, rather than West Germany, were interviewed.

Participation in this study required a time commitment and a willingness to discuss personal issues; it was therefore technically impossible to recruit the subject pool in a random way. Subjects volunteered to participate in the study. Due to this self-selection process, subjects with a more extreme or conflicted view of the war years and the Holocaust might have been reluctant to participate in the study. Devoid of this group, the scores

measuring the Holocaust narratives lacked extreme values at the lower end of the scale, and clustered the scores in the mid to upper range.

A second factor which might have influenced the self-selection process of the subjects was the fact that although the researcher was German-born, she had been living in the United States for the previous sixteen years and came from the U.S. to conduct the study. The researcher, being a foreign contingent, might have evoked memories of the Allied Forces and the judgmental stance many foreign countries have taken against Germany due to its war past. Not only might this factor have deterred certain subjects from joining this research project, it might have also held back those subjects who participated in the study from expressing themselves freely.

The educational level of the subjects was unusually high, with 96.3% university students. Several factors contributed to this occurrence. The researchers recruited participants at universities through class presentations as well as in public open spaces such as parks, youth centers and cafeterias. These locations were chosen because they were frequented by large numbers of young people. Many of the people who volunteered to participate in the study turned out to be students. In East Germany, the large numbers of students were an outcome of a different educational philosophy. In a classless, communist society all citizens were entitled to the same educational opportunities. All students, however, were also required to participate in lower levels of work experiences in order for everyone to be knowledgeable in both theory and practice. Nonetheless one can assume that enrollment in a university required a higher level of intellectual functioning. Another factor which might have contributed to the large numbers of students in the study was the fact that individuals with higher levels of education tend to value and feel more inclined to participate in a social science project.

In sum, the sample of this study was not randomly selected, was skewed geographically towards East Germany as well as towards higher educational levels among the subjects. These factors as well as the self-selection process and the type of questions the study raised, resulted in a more homogeneous sample. If a broader range of the population as well as higher numbers of subjects had participated, the results of the study may have been stronger in the direction indicated in the results.

c) Empirical Considerations and Limitations of the Study

In the present study, both early memories and memories of the Holocaust were used to assess the subjects' representational world and personality organization. The structure and content of these memories revealed the ways in which a person was able to process and integrate disturbing memories.

The measures chosen for this study needed to reliably assess clinical phenomena in an empirical way and also needed to be able to convey and capture the richness of each individual's narrative.

The Krohn Object Representation Scale for Dreams:

The Object Representation Scale for Dreams (ORSD) or Krohn Scale is an ordinal scale that measures increasing levels of interpersonal relatedness. The measure was chosen for this study because it required its raters to use an "empathic-intuitive" approach (Krohn and Mayman, 1974). The raters were to immerse themselves into the clinical material and use their clinical intuition and sensitivity to code the narratives. This approach was meant to enable the raters to capture the richness and complexity of each person's experience.

The scale was designed to be used on recollections of dreams and was later applied to early memories, the Rorschach and to clincial evaluations of patients. This study is only the fourth one to apply the Krohn Scale to interview material (Levine, 1990; Roth, 1991; Adelman 1993).

The empathic-intuitive approach to coding narratives, despite its potential to sense and capture the complex nature of clinical material, represented a highly subjective approach and introduced some difficulties for the raters in the assessment of the data. It was important for the raters to be aware of their often strong reactions to material and to process the feelings evoked by it. For example, narratives that portrayed a coldness towards the Holocaust or negated its importance, as well as narratives that talked about foreigners in a disparaging way, potentially involved the raters in an emotional way.

Similarly, the use of the German language introduced interpretative difficulties. At times it was hard to differentiate whether a subject was using the language in a defensive way by constructing long paragraphs of speech, thus distancing him or herself from the issues being discussed, or whether it was the nature of the language itself that made the content appear less accessible.

During the coding process there were several instances where the given scoring-categories did not seem suitable or sufficient for the particular narrative. For example, narratives that were structurally and emotionally well-organized, evocative and rich, but whose content was strongly malevolent, did not easily fit into the given score-categories. The lower scores, which represented malevolent and aggressive themes, gave credit for neither the high level of the organization of the narrative, nor for its richness of content. Higher scores, on the other hand, tended to capture the more

positive aspects of mature relationships and did not include the evocative and malevolent nature of these narratives.

The Epigenetic Rating System:

The Epigenetic Rating System (EARS) was chosen for this study as a measure, because, like the Krohn Scale, it was designed to assess narratives in an empirical way. The EARS is based on the belief that environmental as well as internal demands lead to moment-to-moment shifts in the level of personality functioning. These fluctuations are caused by either high or low arousal states, which correspond in this particular study to the early memories (low arousal) and the Holocaust memories (high arousal). The authors of the EARS conceptualized an empirical way to capture these shifts in personality functioning. They also originated a way to measure different personality dimensions in a separate way, allowing for a personality profile to emerge that could differentiate strengths and weaknesses in those individual dimensions.

The rating of the EARS required a clinical, intuitive approach much like the one for the ORSD. As a result, similar difficulties occurred for the raters. It was, for example, important to differentiate the various personality dimensions for each subject and to avoid the temptation to categorize a subject at a certain level of performance in all dimensions. For this reason, the raters agreed to code the four personality dimensions separately, often coding affect tolerance, for example, for several different subjects before moving on to measure affect expression. Due to this subjective coding process, it proved essential to recode material a second time before making a final decision for a score.

The personality dimension "empathy" required a small addendum to the categories given in the scoring manual. Since most of the memories in this study were personal and centered around descriptions of the narrator himself, it became important to include and differentiate empathic aspects of the self. Was the description of the self rich or sparse, was it exclusive of others in a narcissistic way or did it include others and were they represented in an empathic way?

For the personality dimensions "affect tolerance" and "affect expression", the EARS focused on the polarization of opposing affects and their potential integration. Therefore the raters looked at narratives in terms of the organization of positive and negative affect. Lower scores represented a polarization of positive and negative feeling states. Higher scores stood for a level of integration. Narratives that were exclusively positive and evocative, with no mention of negative aspects, did not fit into the given scoring categories. The rater had to differentiate whether the positiveness was convincing and real and merited a higher score, or if it was used defensively to avoid negative aspects. The rater considered subtle nuances of the narrative, then subjectively decided the score. This way of coding also introduced countertransferential difficulties for the raters, similar to the ones described for the ORSD. Since the score was decided in a clinical, subjective way, the raters again had to be particularly aware of their own countertransference reactions to the material. During the coding process with the EARS, the raters also experienced ambiguities with the German language similar to the ones discussed in the section on the ORSD.

The Fascism Scale

Unlike the two other scales described above, the Fascism Scale (F-Scale) was used as a paper and pencil measure as part of a questionnaire. The scale was meant to measure levels of authoritarianism in each subject. The measure was designed in 1950 and asked questions which were not explicitly ideological but related to moral and personal values. At the time of the data collection, subjects complained about the old-fashioned style of the questions and their obvious answers. The subjects seemed to indicate that their relationship to these questions was a great deal more sophisticated than the questionnaire allowed for.

Rosenberg, Farrell and Gorman (1976) in reviewing the F-Scale, noted the need to revise it: "Such survey instruments can only yield useful results if they reflect current shifts in social ideologies and catchphrases" (p.233). In their own research they rephrased many of the original items to make them more appropriate for contemporary use. Another researcher who worked with the F-Scale found in his research that the F-Scale measured cultural rather than political influences. If a culture, for example, over time demonstrated less support for authoritarian attitudes it would seem that subjects with strong authoritarian tendencies might become more muted and careful in their expressions of authoritarianism and racism. This would mean that a scale, which had not been adapted to changes in language and in social mores, and had not incorporated the increasing sophistication in the expression of authoritarian views, could not adequately tap into and measure those authoritarian attitudes. In reviewing the results of the study, it became clear that the Fascism Scale had not been adequately adapted to either of those factors. Subscales from consecutive studies on authoritarianism had been

incorporated as an attempt to update the scale, but even those later studies dated back to the Sixties.

As with any empirical investigation this study had certain methodological limitations. Many of these limitations have been discussed in the previous pages and will be summarized here.

This study explored the ways in which young Germans have integrated the murderous past of their country during the Holocaust. An attempt was made to measure the performance of various personality dimensions in relation to this transmitted past of the Holocaust.

The biggest limitation seemed to be related to the nature of the sample. Several factors contributed to its homogeneous characteristics. The population could not be randomly determined, since the participants in this study were found in a process of self-selection. This limited the sample to people who had some interest in this topic and were willing to talk about it. Another factor was the large number of subjects from former East Germany as opposed to West Germany. The sample was skewed towards the East, adding another decisive common denominator.

All participants, except one, were students, which skewed the sample towards higher educational levels and precluded subjects from other socio-economic backgrounds. All these factors made the group of people studied more similar to each other and less representative of the general population. In addition, the relatively small size of the sample might have been another factor that contributed to the restricted range of the results.

The two measures chosen for the assessment of the narratives, the Krohn Scale (ORSD) and the Epigenetic Assessment Rating System (EARS), needed to be sensitive to and respectful of complex clinical material on the one hand, and capable of measuring these narratives empirically on the

other. The features that were most attractive about these two scales also turned out to be their limitations. Both scales asked the raters to immerse themselves into the material and use their clinical intuition to rate the narratives. This clinical approach enabled the raters to be sensitive to nuances in the structural as well as the semantic aspects of the narratives but it also rendered the rating process highly subjective. As in the process of working clinically with patients, the raters had to be aware of their countertransferential reactions to the material.

Due to the subjective manner of coding the material, it was recommended that the material be recoded at least once before the raters settled on a final score. Once for the ORSD and twice for the EARS the existing scoring categories needed to be amended, since the nature of the narratives did not easily match the given scoring categories.

The Facism Scale, chosen for the analysis of the questionnaires posed several problems. It was meant to measure levels of authoritarianism in each subject, yet the questions in the forty-year-old scale were formulated in a dated and obvious way. Former East and West Germans, each in their own ways, were sensitive to questions regarding authoritarianism and might have answered the questions with little spontaneity and candour. The results of the F-Scale reflected a level of homogeneity that made comparisons between subjects and with other personality dimensions impossible.

d) Implications for Future Research

The hypotheses in this study were unsupported by the analyses of the data. While additional data analyses yielded some significant results and the overall findings raised interesting questions, the discussion of these findings has remained speculative due to several limitations in the methodological

concept of the study. These limitations have considerably restricted the generalizability of the findings.

Future research in this area of study must consider those limitations and adapt the design of the study in such a way that more firm conclusions can be drawn. Part of this change would be the recruitment of a more representative sample, including subjects from different socio-economic backgrounds. It would be advisable if future projects in this area of study could control for regional background: Either all subjects would be from former East Germany or equal numbers should represent the former East and West Germany.

A future study might yield more generalizable results if, along with the previously mentioned changes, a larger sample size were used. Research measuring clinical narratives in an empirical way is relatively new and the scales allowing for this more qualitative/quantative analysis need further refinement as they are being used in future studies.

Both scales used in this project translated valuable qualitative information into measurable numbers. The subjectiveness of this process mandates check points among the raters and possible amendments to the scales. Nonetheless, this type of analysis was an integral part of the methodological intentions of this study and the author hopes that, despite some technical difficulties, future researchers will continue to refine this process.

This study attempted to analyze the way a historical trauma was experienced by a younger generation. The central question examined the impact of the Holocaust on the development of the post-war German personality. It explored the complexities of knowing and not-knowing, of seeking or avoiding the memories of the parents and grandparents and of

integrating the traumatic history this younger generation had inherited. While data analysis yielded little in the way of statistically significant results, a careful consideration of some statistical trends and theoretical issues suggested that social and historical factors related to the Holocaust may indeed have influenced the psychological make-up of Germans born in its wake and complicated the formation of a cohesive narrative that linked past, present and future together for Germany's young generation.

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF CONSENT IN ENGLISH:

The goals of this study have been explained to me and I had opportunity to ask questions.

I was given a name and address in case I have additional questions.

Bettina Volz
Hohe Warte 11
7250 Leonberg

_____ or check here YES
Signature (optional)

Remarks:

If you would like to receive a summary of the results of this study please write to the address above.

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF CONSENT IN GERMAN

Die Ziele dieser Studie wurden mir erklaert und ich hatte Gelegenheit Fragen zu stellen.

Mir wurde ein Name und eine Kontaktadresse gegeben, falls ich zusaetzliche Fragen habe.

Bettina Volz
Hohe Warte 11
7250 Leonberg

_____oder bitte hier abhaken Ja
Unterschrift (freiwillig)

Bemerkungen:

Wenn Sie gerne eine Zusammenfassung dieser Studie erhalten wollen, schreiben Sie bitte an die obige Adresse.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW IN ENGLISH

1. Tell me about your family.

2. What is your earliest memory?
   What stands out about the memory?
   How do you picture yourself in it?
   How do you picture others in it?
   What were you feeling at the time?

3. What is your unhappiest memory?
   What stands out about the memory?
   How do you picture yourself in it?
   How do you picture others in it?
   What were you feeling at the time?

4. Please find three adjectives that describe your relationship with your mother.

5. Please give me examples in your experience with your mother that relate to those adjectives.

6. Please do the same with your father.

7. When you were upset as a child what would you do?

8. What happened when you really misbehaved?

10. As a child did you have friendships with children who were different from you?

11. Who is your hero and why?

12. What qualities should a woman ideally have?

13. What qualities should a man ideally have?

14. Who do you know who would most fit this description?

15. What have you learned from your most influential parent?

16. Did you have a major loss during your childhood or adolescence?

17. When you think of the war what images come to mind?

18. What is your earliest memory of hearing about the war?

19. Who told you?

20. What were you told?

21. How did you feel at the time?

22. Did you feel free to ask questions?

23. Did you family talk about the events in the war?

24. Did you talk to your peers about the events in the war?

25. How did you learn about it in school?

26. What is your earliest memory of hearing about the Holocaust?

27. When you think about the Holocaust what images come to mind?

28. Do you sometimes think about how you would have felt and acted had you been part of the Nazi-time?

29. Can you imagine being a Jew during the Third Reich in Germany?

30. Can you see yourself in the situation and what is that like for you?

31. Do you and your (grand)parents have a similar view of what happened during the war?

32. How do you feel about your (grand)parents being part of that time?

33. Do you think that the events of the Nazi-regime influenced your life?

34. Do you think there is a difference between a bookkeeper in a factory during the war and a bookkeeper in a concentration camp?

35. What would you tell your own children about the Holocaust?

36. When you think of Hitler and Stalin, who was worse and why?

37. How do you understand the lost dream of communism?

38. How do you feel about foreigners in Germany?

39. How do you feel about being German?

40. In regard to unification, what hopes/ worries do you have?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW IN GERMAN

1. Bitte erzaehlen Sie mir ein wenig ueber Ihre Familie?

2. Was ist Ihre allererste Erinnerung?
   Was ist besonders an dieser Erinnerung?
   Wie sehen Sie sich selbst in dieser Erinnerung?
   Wie sehen Sie andere in dieser Erinnerung?
   Wie haben Sie sich in diesem Moment gefuehlt?

4. Bitte suchen Sie sich drei Adjektive aus, die die Beziehung zu Ihrer Mutter beschreiben.

5. Bitte geben Sie mir Beispiele aus den Erlebnissen mit Ihrer Mutter, die sich auf die Adjektive beziehen.

6. Bitte tuen Sie dasselbe mit Ihrem Vater.

7. Wenn Sie als Kind krank waren, wer hat Sie versorgt?

9. Wie haben Ihre Eltern reagiert, wenn Sie sich voellig daneben benommen haben?

10. Hatten Sie als Kind Freundschaften mit Kindern, die anders waren als Sie?

11. Wen bewundern Sie und warum?

12. Welche Eigenschaften sollte die Idealfrau haben?

13. Welche Eigenschaften sollte der Idealmann haben?

14. Wen kennen Sie, der dieser Beschreibung entspricht?

15. Was haben Sie von dem Elternteil gelernt, der den groessten Einfluss auf Sie hatte?

16. Haben Sie waehrend Ihrer Kindheit oder Jugendzeit einen wichtigen Verlust erlitten?

17. Wenn Sie an den Krieg denken, was fuer Bilder fallen Ihnen ein?

18. Koennen Sie sich daran erinnern als Sie zum ersten Mal etwas vom Krieg gehoert haben?

19. Wer hat Ihnen davon erzaehlt?

20. Was wurde Ihnen davon erzaehlt?

21. Wie haben Sie sich damals gefuehlt?

22. War es leicht fuer Sie Fragen zu stellen?

23. Haben Sie in Ihrer Familie viel ueber den Krieg gesprochen?

24. Haben Sie mit Gleichaltrigen ueber den Krieg gesprochen?

25. Wie wurde der Krieg im Schulunterricht behandelt?

26. Koennen Sie sich daran erinnern wie Sie zum ersten Mal etwas vom Holocaust gehoert haben?

27. Wenn Sie an den Holocaust denken, welche Bilder stellen Sie sich vor?

28. Denken Sie manchmal darueber nach wie es fuer Sie gewesen waere in der Nazi-Zeit zu leben, wie Sie sich gefuehlt haetten und wie Sie sich verhalten haetten?

29. Koennen Sie sich vorstellen ein Jude in der Nazi-Zeit zu sein?

30. Koennen Sie sich in diese Situation hineinversetzen und beschreiben wie das fuer Sie waere?

31. Haben Ihre (Gross) Eltern und Sie aehnliche Ansichten ueber das, was im Krieg passiert ist?

32. Wie ist es fuer Sie, dass Ihre (Gross) Eltern Teil dieser Zeit waren?

33. Denken Sie, dass die Geschehnisse des Dritten Reiches Ihr Leben beeinflusst haben? Wenn ja, wie?

34. Denken Sie, dass es einen Unterschied gibt zwischen einem Fabrikbuchhalter und einem Konzentrationslagerbuchhalter im Krieg? Wenn ja, welchen?

35. Was wuerden Sie Ihren eigenen Kindern ueber den Holocaust sagen?

36. Wenn Sie an Hitler und Stalin denken, wer war schlimmer und warum?

37. Denken Sie, dass der Kommunismus ein verlorener Traum ist?

38. Was bedeuten Auslaender fuer Sie in Deutschland?

39. Wie ist es fuer Sie deutsch zu sein?

40. In bezug auf Wiedervereinigung, welche Hoffnungen/Sorgen haben Sie?

APPENDIX E

FASCISM SCALE IN ENGLISH

We would first like to have your opinion on the following statements. Please answer each question according to how much you agree or disagree with it, by putting a check in the appropriate space provided:

strongly agree	agree	not decided	disagree	strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

1. Man, on his own, is a helpless and miserable creature.

2. I would like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

3. I often wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me?

4. There is usually only one best way to solve most problems we encounter.

5. There are more contagious diseases nowadays than ever before.

6. Even when I get wound up in a discussion, I can stop fairly easily.

7. Theory is often essential in the solution of practical problems.

8. Army life is not a good influence on most young men.

9. Among the most important qualities that a person can have is disciplined obedience to authority.

10. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important for his country.

11. Patriotism and loyalty are the first and most important requirements of a good citizen.

12. I am proud to be a German.

13. Drug users are hardly better than criminals and should be severly punished.

14. It is I who should be giving my parents advice, rather than the other way around.

15. A boy is justified in running away from home if his father is cruel to him.

16. I respect my parents.

17. If someone asked me to describe an "ideal mother", I would give a description of my own mother.

18. A child should feel a deep sense of obligation to act in accord with the wishes of his parents.

19. Children should always be loyal to their parents.

20. Children should do nothing without the consent of their parents.

21. Every person should feel a great love, gratitude and respect for his parents.

22. If someone asked me to describe an "ideal father", I would give a description of my own father.

23. As long as so many of our teachers are afreid to administer physical punishment, our schools will probably continue to decline.

24. It usually helps a child in later years if he is forced to conform to his parents' ideas.

25. Most censorship of books or movies is a violation of free speech and should be abolished.

26. Disobedience to the government is sometimes justified.

27. It is the duty of a citizen to criticize or censure his country whenever he considers it to be wrong.

28. There is a divine purpose in the operations of the universe.

29. What youth need the most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country.

30. **It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.**

31. **We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what to do and how to do it.**

APPENDIX F

FASCISM SCALE IN GERMAN

Zunaechst wuessten wir gerne Ihre Meinung zu den folgenden Behauptungen. Bitte kreuzen Sie - je nach Grad Ihrer Zustimmung beziehungsweise Ablehnung - eine der fuenf Moeglichkeiten an.

Starke Zustimmung		Nicht Entschieden		Ablehnung Starke Ablehnung
1	2	3	4	5

1. Auf sich allein gestellt, ist der Mensch ein hilfloses und armseliges Wesen.

2. Ich waere froh, wenn ich jemand faende, der mir sagen wuerde, wie ich meine persoenlichen Probleme loesen koennte.

3. Ich frage mich oft, welchen geheimen Grund jemand anderes wohl hat, mir einen Gefallen zu tun.

4. Gewoehnlich laesst sich fast jedes Problem, dem man begegnet, nur auf eine Weise am besten loesen.

5. Es gibt heute mehr ansteckende Krankheiten als je zuvor.

6. Selbst wenn ich tief in einer Diskussion stecke, kann ich ziehmlich leicht abbrechen.

7. Theorie ist oft wesentlich bei der Loesung praktischer Probleme.

8. Der Wehrdienst hat auf die meisten jungen Maenner keinen guten Einfluss.

9. Zu den wichtigsten Eigenschaften, die jemand haben kann, gehoert disziplinierter Gehorsam der Autoritaet gegenueber.

10. Die Hauptsache im Leben eines Menschen ist, dass er den Wunsch hat, etwas Bedeutendes fuer sein Land zu tun.

11. Patriotismus und Staatstreue sind die ersten wichtigsten Voraussetzungen eines guten Buergers.

12. Ich bin stolz deutsch zu sein.

13. Menschen, die Drogen benutzen, sollten wie Kriminelle behandelt und streng bestraft werden.

14. Eigentlich sollte ich meinen Eltern Ratschlaege geben anstatt sie mir.

15. Ein Junge, den sein Vater grausam behandelt, ist im Recht, wenn er von daheim fortlaeuft.

16. Ich achte meine Eltern.

17. Wenn ich die "ideale Mutter" beschreiben sollte, wuerde ich meine eigene Mutter beschreiben.

18. Ein Kind sollte sich tief verpflichtet fuehlen, die Erwartungen seiner Eltern zu erfuellen.

19. Kinder sollten immer zu ihren Eltern stehen.

20. Kinder sollten nichts ohne das Einverstaendnis ihrer Eltern tun.

21. Jeder sollte fuer seine Eltern tiefe Liebe, Dankbarkeit und Respekt empfinden.

22. Wenn ich den "idealen Vater" beschreiben sollte, wuerde ich meinen eigenen Vater beschreiben.

23. Solange es unseren Lehrern verboten ist, Schueler koerperlich zu strafen, wird es mit unseren Schulen bergab gehen.

24. Im allgemeinen ist es einem Kind im spaeteren Leben nuetzlich, wenn es gezwungen wird, sich den Vorstellungen seiner Eltern anzupassen.

25. Fast jede Zensur von Buechern oder Filmen ist eine Vergewaltigung der freien Meinungsaeusserung und sollte abgeschafft werden.

26. Ungehorsam gegen die jeweilige Regierung ist manchmal gerechtfertigt.

27. Es ist die Pflicht eines Buergers sein Land zu kritisieren oder zu tadeln, wenn immer er meint, dass es im Unrecht ist.

28. Die Vorgaenge im Weltall zeigen Gottes Absichten.

29. **Was die Jugend am noetigsten braucht, sind strenge Disziplin, harte Entschlossenheit und der Wille, fuer die Familie und das Land zu arbeiten und zu kaempfen.**

30. **Es ist nur natuerlich und richtig, wenn jeder seine Familie fuer besser haelt als jede andere.**

31. **Wir sollten dankbar sein fuer die fuehrenden Koepfe, die uns genau sagen koennen, was wir tun sollen und wie.**

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